McGRAW-HILL EDUCATION CLASSICS

LIBRARY OF PRINCETON
MAR 6 1946
THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
LA379
.A77

McGRAW-HILL EDUCATION CLASSICS

EDWARD H. REISNER, *General Editor*

THOMAS JEFFERSON AND EDUCATION IN A REPUBLIC

McGRAW HILL EDUCATION CLASSICS

EDWARD H. REISNER, *General Editor*

Luther, Calvin and Other Protestant Educators
Edited by FREDERICK EBY

Comenius
Edited by M. W. KEATINGE

Locke
Edited by W. E. SEALOCK

French Liberalism and Education in the Eighteenth Century
Edited by F. DE LA FONTAINERIE

Thomas Jefferson and Education in a Republic
Edited by C. F. ARROWOOD

Pestalozzi
Edited by L. F. ANDERSON

Reports on European Education
Edited by EDGAR W. KNIGHT

Horace Mann
Edited by A. O. NORTON

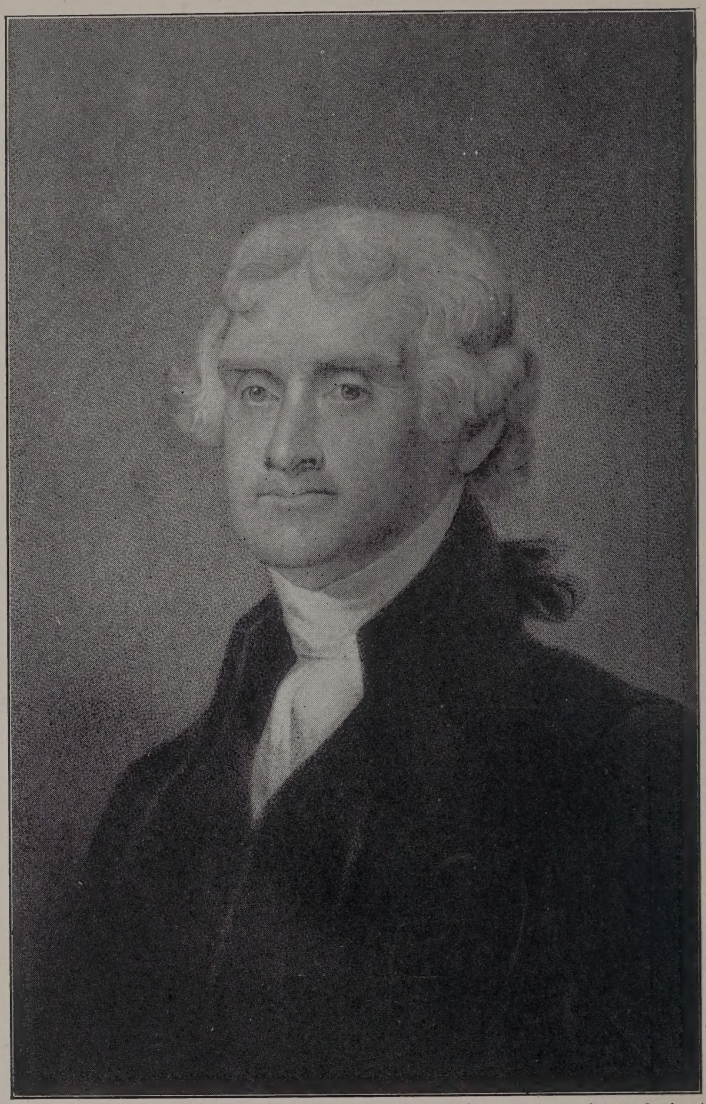
Henry Barnard
Edited by JOHN S. BRUBACHER

Pioneers of Women's Education
Edited by WILLYSTINE GOODSELL

Francis W. Parker
Edited by EDWARD H. REISNER

Benjamin Franklin
Edited by THOMAS WOODY

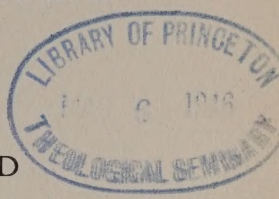
All in press or in preparation, July, 1930



(*Frontispiece*)

THOMAS JEFFERSON

THOMAS JEFFERSON AND EDUCATION IN A REPUBLIC



Edited By

CHARLES FLINN ARROWOOD

Professor of the History and
Philosophy of Education
The University of Texas

McGRAW-HILL BOOK COMPANY, INC.

NEW YORK: 370 SEVENTH AVENUE

LONDON: 6 & 8 BOUVERIE ST., E.C.4.

1930

COPYRIGHT 1930 BY MCGRAW-HILL BOOK COMPANY, INC.

All rights reserved. This book, or parts thereof, may not be reproduced in any form without permission of the publisher

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

To

MY MOTHER

PREFACE

This book aims to present, in his own words so far as is practicable, an account of the contributions of Thomas Jefferson to the progress of education. It is believed that no one can become familiar with this contribution without recognizing its profound significance.

The librarians and staffs of the Columbia University of Virginia, and University of Texas libraries have assisted me in the collection of materials with a courtesy which I take pleasure in acknowledging. Mr. C. H. Phippins has helped me generously. Through the kindness of Mr. E. I. Carruthers, Secretary to the Rector and Visitors of the University of Virginia, I am permitted to quote from the Minutes of the Board of Visitors of the University. Professor Edward H. Reisner read the manuscript and offered valuable criticisms and suggestions. I have been helped most in the preparation of this book by my wife, who has worked with me over every page of it.

CHARLES F. ARROWOOD

Austin, Texas

CONTENTS

PAGE

Preface ix

PART I

JEFFERSON'S SERVICES TO EDUCATION IN AMERICA

CHAPTER

I. Jefferson's Private Life and Public Services 3

II. Jefferson's Efforts to Establish in Virginia a System of Public Education 21

III. Jefferson's Theory of Education 49

PART II

THOMAS JEFFERSON ON EDUCATION

IV. Jefferson's Early Efforts in Behalf of Public Education 79

V. A Bill for Establishing Religious Freedom . 88

VI. Plan of a College: A Letter to Peter Carr . 93

VII. A Bill for Establishing a System of Public Education 107

CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
VIII.	Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Fix the Site of the University of Virginia, etc.	132
IX.	On the Education of a Young Man Destined for Public Life	160
X.	Subjects of Study in Higher Schools and Universities	166
XI.	Jefferson on the Education of Women	177
	Index	181

PART I

JEFFERSON'S SERVICES TO EDUCATION IN AMERICA

CHAPTER I

JEFFERSON'S PRIVATE LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES

Youth and Education

IN 1739, Peter Jefferson and his bride, Jane Randolph, settled at Shadwell in what was soon to become Albemarle County, Virginia; and there, on April 13, 1743, their eldest son, Thomas Jefferson, was born. Albemarle is a land of little mountains covered with trees; of clear streams running swiftly over gravel-covered bottoms, between smooth, well-shaded banks; and of fertile little valleys. This land was one of Jefferson's earliest teachers, here he spent most of his youth, and here was his home, to which, whenever he could be spared from the cares of office, he always returned. The land itself gave direction to his interests and to his ideas.

Albemarle in those days was a paradise for a growing boy. It lay just this side the frontier; game was plentiful;

everyone rode on horseback; and the trail taken by the Indians on their way to and from Williamsburg, where they were accustomed to go for councils, ran just by the gate of their friend, Colonel Peter Jefferson. Young Jefferson hunted, rode, and tramped, building up the tireless strength that carried him through such labors as few men have accomplished. There he acquired a knowledge of nature and love for it that profoundly affected his theory of education. Indian chiefs and their followers frequently camped near the home of Peter Jefferson, and Thomas Jefferson came to know them. In 1812, he wrote to John Adams that he had early "acquired impressions of attachment and commiseration for them which have never been obliterated." [1] His life furnishes proof that he was sincere in this statement. The plan which he offered in 1779 for the reorganization of the College of William and Mary provided for the appointment of a missionary to the Indians, who was to collect information respecting their languages and customs. He desired that members of the Lewis and Clark expedition collect information relating to the

[1] WASHINGTON, H. A., Editor, "The Writings of Thomas Jefferson," Vol. VI, p. 61.

Indians. His interest in them, as well as his insatiable thirst for facts, led him to compile extensive notes on Indian speech and life; notes which, unhappily, were lost through the rascality of some boatmen.

Peter Jefferson was one of the greatest of his son's teachers. In common with many leading Virginians of his day he had received but little formal schooling, but he had read widely and had kept in close touch with political and economic affairs. He was a prominent surveyor, being appointed with Prof. Joshua Fry, of the College of William and Mary, to complete the survey of the boundary between Virginia and North Carolina and to make a map of Virginia. He read aloud with his children and made liberal provision for the education of his eldest son.

When Thomas Jefferson was five years old he was entered in an English, or as we should say, elementary school. Four years later, he was placed under the instruction of a Scotch clergyman, William Douglas, who taught him Latin and Greek. His father died in 1758, and for two years following Jefferson attended the classical school of Rev. James Maury, who was, like Douglas, a clergyman of the Church of England;

there he continued the study of Latin and Greek and acquired French. His attainments in the classics were considerable; few men in American public life have made as much use of Greek and Latin authors, and of those who have known those languages few have employed them with so little show of erudition.

The young scholar was a man of fashion, too, who could play the violin, step a minuet, and match coats, cravats, and blooded horses with any man in Virginia. He early displayed two traits that marked him as a really great man: the ability to win the confidence and affection of persons eminent for their intelligence and moral worth, and a truly extraordinary capacity to judge the character and motives of men. He was as rich in social gifts as in physical strength, scholarship, and judgment.

Never was a youth more fortunate in his friends. He came to know Patrick Henry well in 1759.[2] At William and Mary, he made a life-long friend of John Page, who was one day to be Governor of Virginia. When, in 1760, he entered college he soon won the

[2] Letter to Wirt, August 5, 1815. See WASHINGTON, H. A., "The Writings of Thomas Jefferson," Vol. VI, pp. 483–491.

regard of Prof. William Small, an attachment which, he tells us in his "Autobiography," "probably fixed the destinies" of his life. The Scotch professor made the youth "his daily companion," commended him to his "intimate friend, George Wythe," and "introduced him to the acquaintance of Governor Fauquier." To the conversation of these men he owed, as he tells us, "much instruction." Had William and Mary afforded no other facilities for the acquisition of culture than the intimate society of these men the young Westerner could not well have escaped a liberal education. When Jefferson was old he recorded that he had early made Dr. Small, Mr. Wythe, and Peyton Randolph the models by which he measured his aims and conduct.

Jefferson completed his work in the college in 1762, and began at once to read law in the chambers of George Wythe. A thorough and painstaking student, he devoted five years to the mastery of the subject. To get at the roots of the common law he learned Anglo-Saxon; and in these years he began to collect his splendid library, which was throughout his life one of his principal interests.

Jefferson read widely and with great discrimination.

His library, selected with great care, contained, in 1814, seven or eight thousand books. His tastes ran to the classics and to history and political theory. He is said to have read no novel the second time save "Don Quixote." His dislike of feudal institutions, which, in part, accounts for his dislike of Scott's novels, must have contributed to his interests in Cervantes.

Public Services

From 1767 until he entered Congress in 1776 Jefferson was engaged in farming and the practice of law, and after 1769 he represented his county in the House of Burgesses. He was a contented and successful farmer; his law practice was one of the most remunerative in Virginia; and he stepped, almost at once, into a leading place among Virginia patriots. On January 1, 1772, he and Mrs. Martha Wayles Skelton, widow of Bathhurst Skelton, were married.

Jefferson represented Virginia in the Continental Congress during the summer of 1776. The story of his close association with Franklin, Adams, and other leaders of the Congress, and of his authorship of the

Declaration of Independence is among the best known in our history. After the signing of the Declaration, he declined to continue in Congress, and returned to Virginia to enter the Legislature. A new state constitution had been adopted, but many changes in law and civil administration yet had to be made in the more liberal spirit of that instrument. Jefferson, Wythe, and Pendleton were active in proposing legislation by means of which a thoroughgoing reform of the legal and judicial system of the state was accomplished.

Among the bills introduced by Thomas Jefferson while a member of the Virginia Legislature, four are of especial interest to the student of education. One of these, and the only one of the four to secure legislative assent, was a "Bill for Establishing Religious Freedom," [3] introduced in 1779 and passed in 1786. Of the three others, the first was a "Bill for the More General Diffusion of Knowledge," [4] which provided for an educational system to include elementary schools in each community, and twenty grammar schools, the colleges of the bill offered in 1817, distributed over Virginia.

[3] Chap. V.
[4] Chap. IV.

The second, entitled a "Bill for Amending the Charter of the College of William and Mary," [5] was drawn with a view to making the ancient college at Williamsburg a state university, the crown of the educational system of the commonwealth. The third was a "Bill for Establishing a Public Library." [6]

Jefferson succeeded Henry as Governor of Virginia. In 1782, Mrs. Jefferson died. Two years later, he went to France, where he served as United States Minister for five years. Returning to the United States he entered Washington's Cabinet as Secretary of State, in which capacity he continued to serve his country until the last day of 1793. Upon his retirement from the Cabinet, he returned to the life of the gentleman farmer at Monticello, where in a brief period of rest from official position, preceding his election as Vice President, he showed his versatility by inventing a plow.

Hardly had the new government been organized under the constitution than a conflict began regarding the contruction to be placed upon that instrument.

[5] Consult Ford, Paul L., "The Works of Thomas Jefferson," Vol. II, pp. 414–441, for the full text of this bill, as well as that for "The More General Diffusion of Knowledge."

[6] *Idem.*

Jefferson became the leader of the Democratic-Republican group, which favored a strict limitation of the powers of the federal government, as opposed to the Federalist theory of strong national administration. This conflict, which ran through all of Washington's term of office as President, came to a head in the administration of John Adams over the Alien and Sedition Laws. The Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions, passed in 1798 and 1799, represented the Democratic-Republican response to what that party considered to be an unconstitutional assumption of power on the part of the federal government. As President, Jefferson continued to stand for characteristic Republican policies, although upon need he discovered sufficient flexibility within Republican principles and in the federal constitution to justify administrative acts that seemed to exemplify the Federalist rather than the Republican position.

Retiring to private life, in 1809, he made his home at Monticello, devoting himself to his friends, his grandchildren, his business interests, and the founding of the University of Virginia, of which he was father and first Rector. One of the most extraordinary things in his whole career is that he was able to live simply as a private

citizen, natural and approachable, without any loss of dignity.

He died on July 4, 1826. Of his children only two, Martha, Mrs. Thomas Mann Randolph, and Mary, Mrs. Francis Eppes, lived to reach maturity, and only Mrs. Randolph survived her father.

Jefferson the Friend and Teacher of Children

The education of his children and grandchildren claimed a large place in Jefferson's time and efforts. Even before the death of Mrs. Jefferson he took charge of the education of their children, and after her death he was mother as well as father to his two daughters. The education of his grandchildren was a matter of first concern with him; their memoirs and his correspondence with them reveal a most attractive side of his character.

A letter to Martha, written when she was eleven years old, furnishes a pretty definite idea of what Jefferson believed in the matter of the proper education of a young woman of wealth and position:

. . . Consider the good lady who has taken you under her roof, who has undertaken to see that you perform all your exercises, and to admonish you in all those wanderings from what is right or what is clever, to which your inexperience would expose you: consider her, I say, as your mother, as the only person to whom, since the loss with which Heaven has pleased to inflict you, you can now look up; and that her displeasure or disapprobation, on any occasion, will be an immense misfortune, which should you be so unhappy as to incur by any unguarded act, think no concession too much to regain her good-will. With respect to the distribution of your time, the following is what I should approve:

From 8 to 10, practice music.
From 10 to 1, dance one day and draw another.
From 1 to 2, draw on the day you dance, and write a letter next day.
From 3 to 4, read French.
From 4 to 5, exercise yourself in music.
From 5 till bed-time, read English, write, etc.

Communicate this plan to Mrs. Hopkinson, and if she approves it pursue it. . . . I expect you will write me by every post. Inform me what books you read, what tunes you learn, and inclose me your best copy

of every lesson in drawing. . . . Take care that you never spell a word wrong. Always before you write a word, consider how it is spelt, and, if you do not remember it, turn to a dictionary. It produces great praise to a lady to spell well. I have placed my happiness on seeing you good and accomplished; and no distress which this world can now bring on me would equal that of your disappointing my hopes. If you love me, then strive to be good under every situation, and to all living creatures, and to acquire those accomplishments which I have put in your power, and which will go far towards ensuring you the warmest love of your affectionate father. . . .[7]

Jefferson advised both of his daughters respecting dress and deportment.[8] During his residence in France, they were placed for a time in a convent, reputed the best school for girls in France. He kept them at the languages, Latin, French, and Spanish, with never-failing kindness but with a persistence that deserved the success it won, and encouraged them to read his own favorite subject, history. He urged them to strive, above all things, to be good, truthful,

[7] RANDOLPH, S. N., "Domestic Life of Thomas Jefferson," pp. 69–70.
[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 70–71.

industrious, and kind. He entered into a sort of game with Mary, comparing notes about the arrival of migratory birds, the time of the leafing and blossoming of trees, and the dates at which various fruits and vegetables appeared for the first time each season. He did not neglect to speak of domestic tasks, but, in his letters, promises himself a pudding of his daughter's baking, and asks after her progress in the household arts.

He was a sort of fairy-godfather to his grandchildren. Ellen W. Coolidge writes of him:

My grandfather's manners to us, his grandchildren, were *delightful;* I can characterize them by no other word. He talked with us freely, affectionately; never lost an opportunity of giving pleasure or a good lesson. He reproved without wounding us, and commended without making us vain. He took pains to correct our errors and false ideas, checked the bold, encouraged the timid, and tried to teach us to reason soundly and feel rightly. Our smaller follies he treated with good-humored raillery, our graver ones with kind and serious admonition. He was watchful over our manners, and called our attention to every violation of propriety. He did not interfere with our education technically so called, except by advising us what studies to pursue,

what books to read, and by questioning us on the books which we did read.[9]

Another granddaughter, Mrs. Virginia J. Trist, says:

During his absences, all the children who could write corresponded with him. Their letters were duly answered. . . . Whenever an opportunity occurred, he sent us books; and he never saw a little story or piece of poetry in a newspaper, suited to our ages and tastes, that he did not preserve it and send it to us . . .

On winter evenings, when it grew too dark to read, in the half hour which passed before candles came in, as we all sat around the fire, he taught us several childish games, and would play them with us.[10]

In the spring, the children of his family shared his garden. They saw each seed and bulb placed in the ground, and watched as its place was marked; each spike and bud was reported as it appeared, until the great day when a bloom rewarded the whole household. He presided at games, rewarded success, anticipated and solaced suffering. Not even Pestalozzi lived more intimately or understandingly with children.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 344.
[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 346, 347.

Jefferson wrote but one short letter on the education of girls, that of March 14, 1818, to Nathaniel Burwell, and in this letter he disclaims any special knowledge of the subject, but no man of this time was more competent to write of it.

When Jefferson was but twenty-three years old, his advice was sought respecting the education of James Madison, then but sixteen years of age.[11] Subsequently, he advised a number of his young friends as to the course of study suited to the tastes and needs of each. Three letters which he wrote to his nephew, Peter Carr, on this subject are preserved.[12] John Bannister, Jr.,[13] Thomas Mann Randolph,[14] John W. Eppes,[15] Bernard Moore,[16] and John Minor[17] were all advised by him respecting their training.

Ralph Izard submitted to Jefferson his plans for the education of his two sons. Jefferson's letter in which he

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 427.

[12] Letters of August 19, 1785; August 10, 1787; and May 28, 1788.

[13] October 15, 1785.

[14] July 6, 1787.

[15] July 28, 1787.

[16] FORD, PAUL L. "The Works of Thomas Jefferson," Federal Edition, Vol. XI, p. 420.

[17] August 30, 1814.

discusses Izard's plans is of especial interest, because in it he weighs the relative advantages to an American of study in Europe and in America; a subject which he takes up, also, in the letter to John Bannister, Jr. In his letter to John Bannister he declares that Europe offers superior advantages for the study of medicine and foreign languages, but, these two advantages aside, the American would be better off were he to spend his student days in his own country. Writing to Izard he gives Williamsburg credit for being "a remarkably healthy situation," an opinion later abandoned. He says further, "I know of no place *in the world,* while the *present professors remain,* where I would sooner place a son."

After the opening of the University of Virginia, March 7, 1825, the great liberal was given opportunity to serve and befriend young men in a way that had not been open to him before. Dr. Henry Tutwiler gives us a glimpse of his relations with the students of the university.[18] He says of his own first impressions of him,

[18] Address before the Alumni Society of the University of Virginia, June 29, 1882.

"I was struck by his plain appearance, and simple, unassuming manners." The memoir goes on:

". . . We used to see him afterwards as he passed our room on the Eastern Range in his almost daily visits to the University. He was now in his eighty-third year, and this ride of eight or ten miles on horseback over a rough mountain-road shows the deep interest with which he watched over this *child of his old age,* and why he preferred the more endearing title of *Father* to that of Founder. This is also shown in the frequent intercourse which he kept up with the Faculty and students. Two or three times a week the former, often with their families, dined with him, by invitation, and once a week he had the students. He had a list of these, and through one of his grandsons, then a student in the University, four or five were invited to dine with him on the Sunday following. This day was selected because it did not interfere with the regular lectures. When he found that some of the students declined the invitation from religious convictions, he ascertained how many there were of this class, and invited them on a week day."

". . . Mr. Jefferson had a wonderful tact in interesting his youthful visitors, and making even the most dif-

fident feel at ease in his company. He knew from what county each student came, and being well-acquainted with the most prominent men in every part of the State, he would draw out the student by asking questions about them, or about something remarkable in his neighborhood, thus making one feel that he was giving instead of receiving information; or he would ask about the studies of the students, and make remarks about them or the Professors, for all of whom he had a high admiration. He was thus careful to pay attention to each individual student."

So it was, as the simple, unassuming, kindly friend of teachers and pupils that this great and good gentleman spent the last year of his life.

CHAPTER II

JEFFERSON'S EFFORTS TO ESTABLISH IN VIRGINIA A SYSTEM OF PUBLIC EDUCATION

LATE in 1776, Jefferson entered the Virginia Assembly. The state had adopted a constitution and its legislators faced the task of formulating its code of laws and setting up permanent machinery of government; into this complex task Jefferson threw himself with enthusiasm. He took the lead in shaping plans for the establishment of courts of justice, and he, Pendleton, and Wythe were the active members of a committee to revise the laws of Virginia. Jefferson had, before the appointment of the committee, introduced a bill "declaring tenants in tail to hold their lands in fee simple," a measure designed to break up the system of hereditary landed aristocracy that had succeeded in establishing itself in Virginia. He drew also the bill which was passed in 1786 and which is referred to in the inscription above his grave as "The Statute of Virginia for Religious Free-

dom." The effect of both of these bills was to promote democracy, and as a result of the later action of the Assembly with respect to the established church a considerable sum of money obtained from the sale of glebe lands was available for the school fund of the state.

As a member of the committee to revise the laws there fell to Jefferson the congenial task of drawing up a series of bills embodying a comprehensive plan for a system of public education. He, accordingly, drew and the committee offered "A Bill for the More General Diffusion of Knowledge," "A Bill for Amending the Charter of William and Mary," and "A Bill for Establishing a Public Library."

No one of these bills was passed in the form in which it was introduced. The bill relating to a public library was wholly neglected. Repeated efforts were made to pass the "Bill for the More General Diffusion of Knowledge." This measure was a favorite one with Jefferson. Writing from Paris to George Wythe, August 13, 1786, he says: "I think by far the most important bill in our whole code, is that for the diffusion of knowledge among the people. No other sure foundation can be devised, for the preservation of freedom and happiness.

. . . Preach, my dear Sir, a crusade against ignorance; establish and improve the law for educating the common people." [1] In 1796, the Assembly passed the part of the bill relating to common schools, but attached to it an amendment that made it utterly ineffective.[2] Let Jefferson describe what happened to this measure: "And in the Elementary bill, they inserted a provision which completely defeated it; for they left it to the court of each county to determine for itself, when this act should be carried into execution, within their county. One provision of the bill was, that the expenses of these schools should be borne by the inhabitants of the county, every one in proportion to his general tax rate. This would throw on wealth the education of the poor; and the justices, being generally of the more wealthy class, were unwilling to incur that burden, and I believe it was not suffered to commence in a single county." [3]

[1] WASHINGTON, H. A., *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 7–8.

[2] HEATWOLE, C. J., "A History of Education in Virginia," pp. 101–102. The amendment in question runs:

"The court of each county shall determine the year in which the aldermen shall be appointed and until they so determine no election shall be held."

[3] JEFFERSON, "Autobiography," WASHINGTON, H. A., "The Writings of Thomas Jefferson," Vol. I, p. 48.

The bills on education offered for the revision contained the germs of all of Jefferson's later thinking on education. In these documents are to be found all of the essential features of the bill sent to Cabell in 1817. There are minor differences: the "grammar schools" of the bill of 1779 are "colleges" in the later bill; the elementary schools of each county are, under the first bill, to be governed by aldermen, elected by the people; while, in 1817, Jefferson proposes that corresponding county officers called "visitors" be appointed for each county by the county judge. Both bills provide for local support and control of elementary schools, for public control of all grades of instruction, for gratuitous instruction in the primary schools of rich and poor alike, for higher education at state expense of poor boys of character and exceptional ability, and for a single state university of high grade. Jefferson, in 1779, proposed to take over the College of William and Mary, which he regarded as a public institution,[4] and to transform it into a state university. Later, he abandoned this plan, and made every effort to have the university located at Charlottesville; but the plan he had in mind in 1779 is in essential

[4] Letter to Joseph C. Cabell, December 22, 1824.

respects the plan of the University of Virginia as it was in its early years.

In the "Notes on Virginia" [5] Jefferson gives an account of the College of William and Mary and of his efforts to have it transformed into a state university:

The College of William and Mary is the only public seminary of learning in this State.[6] It was founded in the time of king William and queen Mary, who granted to it 20,000 acres of land, and a penny a pound duty on certain tobaccoes exported from Virginia and Maryland, which had been levied by the statute of 25 Car. II. The assembly also gave it, by temporary laws, a duty on liquors imported, and skins and furs exported. From these resources it received upwards of 3,000 £ communibus annis. The buildings are of brick, sufficient for an indifferent accommodation of perhaps an hundred students. By its charter it was to be under the government of twenty visitors, who were to be its legislators, and to have a president and six professors, who

[5] Jefferson, "Notes on Virginia," pp. 205–207, Philadelphia, 1825.

[6] Writing to Cabell on December 22, 1824, Jefferson referring to measures taken by the authorities at William and Mary, said: "I am glad that the Visitors and Professors have invoked the interference of the Legislature, because it is an acknowledgment of its authority on behalf of the State, to superintend and control it, of which I never had a doubt." "Early History of the University of Virginia," p. 321.

were incorporated. It was allowed a representative in the general assembly. Under this charter, a professorship of the Greek and Latin languages, a professorship of mathematics, one of moral philosophy, and two of divinity, were established. To these were annexed, for a sixth professorship, a considerable donation by Mr. Boyle, of England, for the instruction of the Indians, and their conversion to Christianity. This was called the professorship of Brafferton, from an estate of that name in England, purchased with the monies given. The admission of the learners of Latin and Greek filled the college with children. This rendering it disagreeable and degrading to young gentlemen already prepared for entering on the sciences, they were discouraged from resorting to it, and thus the schools for mathematics and moral philosophy, which might have been of some service, became of very little. The revenues, too, were exhausted in accommodating those who came only to acquire the rudiments of science. After the present revolution, the visitors, having no power to change those circumstances in the constitution of the college which were fixed by the charter, and being therefore confined in the number of professorships, undertook to change the objects of the professorships. They excluded the two schools for divinity, and that for the

Greek and Latin languages, and substituted others; so that at present [7] they stand thus:

A Professorship for Law and Police;
Anatomy and Medicine;
Natural Philosophy and Mathematics;
Moral Philosophy, the Law of Nature and Nations, the Fine Arts;
Modern Languages;
For the Brafferton.

And it is proposed, so soon as the legislature shall have leisure to take up the subject, to desire authority from them to increase the number of professorships, as well for the purpose of subdividing those already instituted, as of adding others for other branches of science. To the professorships usually established in the universities of Europe, it would seem proper to add one for the ancient languages and literature of the North, on account of their connexion with our own language, laws, customs, and history. The purpose of the Brafferton institution would be better answered by maintaining a perpetual mission among the Indian tribes, the object of which, besides instructing them in the principles of Christianity, as the founder requires,

[7] The passage was written during 1781.

should be to collect their traditions, laws, customs, languages, and other circumstances which might lead to a discovery of their relation with one another or descent from other nations. When these objects are accomplished with one tribe, the missionary might pass on to another.

As has been said, the "Bill for Amending the Charter of the College of William and Mary" failed to pass. The "Autobiography" says of the failure of the bill: [8]

. . . The College of William and Mary was an establishment purely of the Church of England; the Visitors were required to be all of that Church; the Professors to subscribe its thirty-nine Articles; its Students to learn its Catechism; and one of its fundamental objects was declared to be, to raise up Ministers for that church. The religious jealousies, therefore, of all the dissenters, took alarm lest this might give an ascendancy to the Anglican sect, and refused acting on that bill. Its local eccentricity, too, and unhealthy autumnal climate, lessened the general inclination towards it.

[8] WASHINGTON, H. A., "The Writings of Thomas Jefferson," Vol. I, p. 48.

From 1783 until he completed his second term as President of the United States Jefferson had little time to devote to the development of a system of education. The subject, was, however, never long from his mind, as his correspondence shows. During part of the years 1794–1795 he was much interested in a plan to transfer the faculty of the college of Geneva to the United States.[9] He approached President Washington and members of the Virginia Legislature in the matter, but nothing came of it. In his last message to Congress he proposed that the surplus funds of the United States be devoted to public improvements and to the support of education. The American Philosophical Society, of which he was president from 1797 until 1814, gave a prize for the "best system of liberal education and literary instruction, adapted to the genius of the Government of the United States; comprehending also a plan for instituting and conducting public schools in this country on principles of the most extensive utility."[10] In 1800, Du

[9] The matter is the principal subject of a letter to George Washington, February 23, 1795; of one to W. C. Nicholas, November 22, 1794; of one to D'Ivernois, February 6, 1795. Jefferson refers to the matter in a letter to Pictet, February 5, 1803.

[10] See HANSEN, A. O., "Liberalism and American Education," pp. 110 *ff.*

Pont de Nemours published a treatise, "National Education in the United States of America," which had been prepared at the advice and with the help of Thomas Jefferson.[11]

During all the years spent in the official service of the United States, Jefferson was gathering materials for his plan for the University of Virginia. On January 16, 1814, he wrote to Thomas Cooper, "I have long had under contemplation, and been collecting materials for the plan of an university in Virginia which should comprehend all the sciences useful to us, and none others."[12] Letters to Priestley and to Pictet, written quite early in the century, refer to the matter.

The campaign for the establishment of the university was definitely launched in the spring of 1814. Eleven years earlier the Albemarle Academy had been chartered. This institution, which had never existed except on paper, was the germ out of which was developed, first, the Central College, and at length the University

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 179. See also the translator's *Preface* of Du Pont's "National Education in the United States of America," Bessie Gardener Du Pont, Translator.

[12] WASHINGTON, H. A., "The Writings of Thomas Jefferson," Vol. VI, p. 294.

of Virginia. In March, 1814, Jefferson was elected a trustee of this institution, and Peter Carr was chosen as president of the trustees. A movement was set on foot to endow the academy from the proceeds of a lottery and from the sale of certain glebe lands. It was proposed that the name of the school be changed to The Central College, and Jefferson addressed a letter to Peter Carr in which he outlined a plan for the institution.[13] This plan was followed in the establishment of the University of Virginia.

On January 5, 1815, Jefferson took one of the wisest and most fortunate steps in the founding of the University; on that day he wrote to Joseph Carrington Cabell, a member of the Virginia Senate, and definitely entered upon the subject of the establishment of the institution, and frankly told Cabell of the reliance he placed upon him. Cabell volunteered for the war; and Jefferson had secured a coadjutor who was second in his usefulness, in the founding of the University, only to Jefferson himself. Never was commander-in-chief more fortunate in a field officer. Brave, patient, tactful, sagacious, resourceful, and of the highest integrity, Cabell

[13] Chap. VI.

was admired and trusted by everyone. His services to the University cannot be measured.

To Cabell was entrusted the appeal of the trustees of Albemarle Academy that the Legislature issue a charter to The Central College; and on February 14, 1816, the act establishing the college was passed. The governing board consisted of six visitors, and included Jefferson and Cabell—Jefferson was Rector. In 1817, a tract of land, part of that now within the grounds of the University of Virginia, was purchased, and the corner stone of the first building was laid. Meanwhile, the decisive moment in the fight for establishment was drawing near. In 1810, a literary fund, the income from which was devoted to promoting education in the state, had been created. This was increased when, during its session of 1815–1816, the General Assembly appropriated to public education the greater part of the balance on the debt due to Virginia from the federal government. The president and directors of the literary fund were required to report, at the next meeting of the Legislature, a plan for a university. These gentlemen sought the advice of eminent Americans, and reported to the General Assembly in December, 1816. The report was published

in a pamphlet, "Sundry Documents on the Subject of a System of Public Education," and distributed over the state. The report recommends the establishment of a university "in some central and healthy part of the Commonwealth." This provision and the curriculum and government recommended for the university are in accordance with Jefferson's plans.

This report precipitated a most delicate situation. Charles Fenton Mercer, a member of the House of Delegates from Loudon County, brought forward a bill the object of which was to provide for a complete system of education. While this bill was in part based upon Jefferson's plan of 1779, it proposed that the greater part of the expense for the maintenance of elementary schools be met out of state funds; the expense of providing a schoolhouse, merely, being borne locally. The literary fund, moreover, was to bear a considerable share of the expense of building and maintaining forty-eight district academies, and the University of Virginia. Common-school education was to have the preference in the distribution of funds, and the university was not to be established until the primary schools and academies had been taken care of. The bill passed the House of

Delegates by a large majority, but failed, by a single vote, in the Senate.[14]

It is not surprising that Jefferson found Mercer's bill unsatisfactory. No one knew better than he how nearly impossible would be the task of raising, through state taxes to be paid in money, the vast sums demanded by this scheme. His own plan not only provided that schools be supported by local effort, but suggested that the labor and produce of the people of a school district might be counted in payment of their shares toward the support of their school. For example, a district might have its schoolhouse erected by the labor of the men of the district, or it might arrange to have it built and paid for out of funds raised by a local tax. Jefferson wrote to Cabell on October 24, 1817, "A serious perusal of the bill [15] for that purpose, convinced me, that unless

[14] This bill may be found in MERCER, C. F., "A Discourse on Popular Education," 1826; there is also a discussion of the bill. There can be no doubt that Mercer was a sincere friend to popular education, and believed that his bill would open the way to the establishment of a complete system of public instruction. Jefferson opposed it because it took control of the elementary schools out of the hands of local authorities, and because it divided the school funds of the state. See letters to Cabell of October 24, 1817, and of November 28, 1820.

[15] C. F. Mercer's education bill.

something less extravagant could be devised, the whole undertaking must fail. The primary schools alone on that plan would exhaust the whole funds, the colleges [16] as much more, and an university would never come into question."

Jefferson accordingly drew his bill of 1817.[17] Reference to it will show that this bill would, if enacted, have authorized primary schools in every community in the state, each school ordinarily supported and controlled by the voters of the ward in which it was located, though wards too poor to support a primary school might receive aid from county funds. This bill proposed, also, secondary schools located in districts over the state, each governed by a board of visitors appointed by the president and directors of the literary fund, and supported from fees and from the fund. It proposed a university for the whole state.

Able as the bill was, and in spite of Cabell's efforts in its behalf, it won little support in the Legislature. A substitute was offered which proposed that a portion of

[16] Actually secondary schools.
[17] Chap. VII.

the income from the literary fund be set aside for the education of the children of the poor.[18] An amendment was attached to this bill, appropriating $15,000 a year for a university, and authorizing the appointment of a commission of twenty-four members to study the subject of the establishment of a university and to report to the General Assembly at its next session respecting the following matters: (1) The site of the university; (2) A plan for its buildings; (3) "The branches of learning which should be taught in the university"; (4) The number and description of the professorships that will be required; and (5) general provisions "for the better organizing and governing the university."

Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Cabell, and twenty other eminent Virginians were named on the commission. On the first of August, 1818, twenty-one of them met at Rockfish Gap, Virginia. Jefferson dominated the meeting. He was chairman of the commission and of the committee of six appointed to draw the report. Evidently his colleagues of the commission, as later his colleagues of the Board of Visitors, felt that the plan was his and

[18] Historians agree with Jefferson that this was a thoroughly bad piece of legislation; see HEATWOLE, *op. cit.*, pp. 104–106.

that he should be free to work it out. The commission selected Central College as the nucleus for the university, and reported a plan for the institution and for a general scheme of education.[19]

The bill that grew out of this report encountered strong opposition.[20] Friends of the College of William and Mary demanded support for the old college at Williamsburg. Well-read legislators quoted Adam Smith and Dugald Stewart to prove that education should be left to individual enterprise and to philanthropy. Others felt that a university should be located in a city. Cabell met this opposition with the utmost steadfastness and resourcefulness. On January 18, 1819, he won a decisive victory in the House of Delegates, where the chief difficulty lay, and, on January 25, the bill uniting The Central College and the University of Virginia became a law. The plan of the university is that outlined in the report of the commission.

Cabell was able to write on the fourth of December, 1819, "*We have got possession of the ground, and it will*

[19] Chap. VIII.

[20] See Cabell's letters to Jefferson of December 17 and 21, 1824, and Jefferson's to Cabell of December 22, 1824.

never be taken from us," a prediction which subsequent events proved true; but very difficult and critical days were ahead for the university. The resources of Central College, about $40,000, and the university's share of the annual income from the Literary Fund, $15,000, did not provide funds enough to carry into effect Jefferson's magnificent design. The initial estimates of the cost of the grounds and plant placed the cost at $207,000; but it came to much more; Niles' *Register* for March 4, 1826, places the figure at $400,000. The visitors repeatedly asked the Legislature for small sums, and borrowed from the state against the annual appropriation of $15,000 until the debt amounted to $180,000. In 1824, the Legislature cancelled the debt and appropriated $21,000 for the completion of the library.

Jefferson was the architect of the institution. He believed that a good physical plant was essential if professors capable of conferring real distinction upon the university were to be attracted to it. Further, he believed that good architecture would refine and elevate the taste of his fellow-countrymen, and wished to make the college buildings object lessons in architecture. The buildings produced a very favorable impression. George

Tichnor, writing of the plant to William H. Prescott,[21] says: "It has cost two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, and the thorough finish of every part of it and the beautiful architecture of the whole, show, I think, that it has not cost too much." He continues: "It is . . . an experiment worth trying, to which I earnestly desire the happiest results; and they have, to begin it, a mass of buildings more beautiful than anything architectural in New England, and more appropriate to an university than can be found, perhaps, in the world."

Under the plan of the report drawn up at Rockfish Gap, the University of Virginia was to be governed by a Board of Visitors, appointed by the "President and Directors of the Literary Fund, or such other authority as the Legislature shall think best." "The Act Establishing the University," passed January 25, 1819, placed the university "under the government of seven Visitors, to be appointed forthwith by the Governor, with the advice of the Council," and empowered the visitors to "appoint a Rector of their own body to preside at their

[21] December 16, 1824, "Life, Letters, and Journals of George Tichnor," p. 348, Boston, 1877.

meetings." There had been at the College of William and Mary a long controversy touching the respective powers of the visitors on the one hand and of the president and fellows on the other. Section 6 of the "Act Establishing the University of Virginia" avoids any possible ambiguity as to the functions of the visitors or their right to govern the institution. It runs:

The said Visitors shall be charged with the erection, preservation and repair of the buildings, the care of the grounds and appurtenances, and of the interests of the University generally; they shall have power to appoint a Bursar, employ a Proctor, and all other necessary agents; to appoint and remove professors, two-thirds of the whole number of Visitors voting for the removal; to prescribe their duties, and the course of education, in conformity with the law; to establish rules for the government and discipline of the students, not contrary to the laws of the land; to regulate the tuition fees, and the rent of the dormitories occupied; to prescribe and control the duties and proceedings of all officers, servants and others, with respect to the buildings, lands, appurtenances and other property and interests of the University; to draw from the literary fund such moneys as are by law charged on it for this institution; and in

general to direct and do all matters and things which, not being inconsistent with the laws of the land, to them shall seem most expedient for promoting the purposes of the said institution; . . .[22]

The original visitors were: Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, Joseph C. Cabell, John N. Cocke, James Breckenridge, Robert Taylor, and Chapman Johnson. Jefferson was chosen Rector, and was until his death the real head of the institution.

"From the spring of the year 1819," writes George Tucker, "Mr. Jefferson was closely and personally engaged in superintending the buildings of the new university until they were finished. On him had devolved the duty of procuring the different workmen required. . . . He not only formed the general plans of the buildings, but draughts of every subordinate part were made by him; and he superintended the execution by almost daily visits to the workmen. . . .

Though every essential part of the establishment required the sanction of the Board of Visitors, yet on almost all occasions they yielded to his views, partly from the unaffected deference which most of the board had for his judgment and experience, and partly for the

[22] "Early History of the University of Virginia," pp. 448–449.

reason often urged by Mr. Madison, that as the scheme was originally Mr. Jefferson's, and the chief responsibility for its success or failure would fall on him, it was but fair to let him execute it in his own way." [23]

Great as was Jefferson's interest in the physical equipment of the university it was secondary to his wish to make it an institution of the highest rank. He often spoke of his desire that at the University of Virginia "all branches of science useful *to us,* and *at this day,* should be taught in their highest degree." [24] His writings make it perfectly plain that he held much the same views respecting most American colleges of his time as that expressed by his friend Thomas Cooper, "American colleges are, so far as I know them, mere grammar schools." [25] His familiarity with the standards and organization of European universities led him to introduce them, so far as he was able to adapt them to American conditions, into the institution which he founded. The report of the commission of 1818 [26] and the

[23] TUCKER, GEORGE, "Life of Thomas Jefferson," Vol. II, pp. 430, 431 *passim.*

[24] Letter to Dr. Thomas Cooper, August 25, 1814.

[25] ADAMS, "Thomas Jefferson and the University of Virginia," p. 75.

[26] Chap. VIII.

letter to Peter Carr [27] describe Jefferson's plan for the organization and standards for instruction. Professor Minor has given an account of the conduct of classes and examinations at the university, as it was before the Civil War.

The Organization for Instruction [28]

There is no fixed *curriculum* of study prescribed, but each department is organized into a distinct "school" of itself, with its distinct professor, or professors, and assistants; and in these several schools, which are exclusively under control of the instructors therein, subject only to the Board of Visitors, degrees are conferred separately; so that the University may be regarded as a collection of schools, each of which is devoted to a special subject.

This plan, it will be perceived, admits of and contemplates an indefinite multiplication of "schools," keeping pace with the demands of society. At present there are nine, with one or more instructors in each. . . .

Students attend as many of the schools as they think fit, paying a fee for each. But in order to ensure sufficient

[27] Chap. VI.

[28] "Early History of the University of Virginia," pp. 520–522.

employment, no one can attend less than three, without leave of the Faculty.

In this feature is seen Mr. Jefferson's characteristic confidence in the capacity of individuals to determine for themselves what is best for them. He thought it safe to submit to the judgment of each student and his friends, the choice of the subject best adapted to the cast of his mind, and to his views in life. The results of the system are not wholly good, but the good preponderates. Custom has begun to prescribe an order of studies which experience has approved as in general to be preferred, whilst those whose circumstances suggest a different course, are free to pursue it. But the chief advantage is found in the effect on the several departments of instruction. As they conduct their operations independently of each other, they are at liberty to advance *ad libitum* the standard of attainment and the extent of knowledge imparted in each; and the instructors are urged in that direction continually, as well by the promptings of interest as by a generous emulation.

In each school, and in each class of every school, if there is more than one, a *semi-annual* examination is had. The examination is conducted in *writing,* and all the students are expected to undergo it. Those who exhibit a certain proficiency are announced to the public as *distinguished* in such a class of such a school—an ill-chosen

term, it must be allowed, inferring, as it does, the highest honor of a school, whilst it is, in truth, the lowest.

Degrees, as has been said, are conferred in each school upon those who, upon rigorous examinations, partly in writing and partly oral, manifest a thorough acquaintance with the subjects taught.

While details of this scheme were developed after Jefferson's day its main features are his work. It was Jefferson's wish that there should be no President of the university; none was elected until 1904. The affairs of the institution were conducted under a plan adopted by the Board of Visitors on October 4, 1824. The plan is as follows: "At a meeting of the faculty of professors, on matters within their functions, one of them shall preside, by rotation, for the term of one year each." It must not, however, be forgotten, that the first Rector discharged many of the duties of a modern university president.

In the early years of the University of Virginia, while there were no rigid entrance requirements, the visitors were careful to exclude persons not qualified to profit by the instruction offered there; their rules declare, "No student is to be received under sixteen years of age,

rigorously proved. None to be admitted into the mathematical school, or that of natural philosophy, who is not an adept in all the branches of numerical arithmetic, and none into the school of ancient languages, unless qualified, in the judgment of the professor, to commence reading the higher Latin classics; nor to receive instruction in Greek, unless qualified in the same degree in that language." [29]

The visitors were resolved to bring to the new university "professors of the first eminence in their respective lines of science," believing that only by attracting to the institution scholars of the first rank could they make it of real value to Virginia. Samuel Knox of Baltimore was offered a chair in Central College, but he had retired. The visitors reached an agreement with Dr. Thomas Cooper, but owing to delay in the opening of the university and to violent opposition in some quarters to Dr. Cooper, because of his religious views, the visitors reimbursed him for losses occasioned him by his agreement with them and accepted his resigna-

[29] Minutes of the Board of Visitors, October 4, 1824. All quotations from these Minutes by kind permission of the Secretary to the Rector and Visitors of the University of Virginia.

tion.[30] Nathaniel Bowditch, of Salem, and George Tichnor, of Boston, declined professorships. In the face of these difficulties, the visitors came to be "of the opinion that to obtain professors of the first order of science in their respective lines they must resort principally to Europe." Jefferson had reached this conclusion a long time before, for he had written to Dr. Priestly on January 18, 1800, "We should propose to draw from Europe the first characters in science, by considerable temptations, which would not need to be repeated after the first set should have prepared fit successors and given reputation to the institution." [31]

Francis Walker Gilmer was commissioned to seek professors of the required qualifications at Oxford, Cambridge, and Edinburgh; and set out for England in May, 1824.[32] His mission raised a storm of protest.[33] The visitors were not moved from their purpose by these protests. Gilmer secured five men in Europe, and these with three American colleagues made up the first faculty.

[30] PATTON, JOHN S., "Jefferson, Cabell, and the University of Virginia," pp. 68–74.

[31] WASHINGTON, H. A., "The Writings of Thomas Jefferson," Vol. IV, p. 313.

[32] PATTON, *op. cit.*, pp. 83 *ff.*

[33] Jefferson to Edward Everett, July 21, 1825.

The policy of the visitors was vindicated by events. The faculty conferred upon the university the distinction coveted for it by its founders.

From the opening of the university, March 7, 1825, until he was taken with the illness that, on July 4, 1826, ended his life, Jefferson occupied himself with its affairs. He was on the campus almost every day. He kept in close touch with the faculty and officers of the institution, and with all of its affairs. We have seen how often he entertained the faculty and students in his home. Minutes of the Board of Visitors are in his hand, and while the faculty was free in the administration of the internal affairs of the university, his mind continued to guide it through its first year.

CHAPTER III

JEFFERSON'S THEORY OF EDUCATION

THE theory of education which in France dominated thinking during the eighteenth century is marked, so Compayre holds, by four characteristics: its spirit is nationalistic, equalitarian, and secular, and it is based upon philosophic grounds.[1] Three of these characteristics of theory of education in France during Jefferson's life time apply also to his doctrine. He held firmly to the opinion that instruction should be freed from ecclesiastical control;[2] he advocated universal education, gratuitous at the primary level; and he sought to find a basis for his doctrines in philosophy. On the other hand, he did not so much propose to make education the instrument of nationalism, as to render it the means by which the people should come to know their rights,

[1] *Des doctrines de l'education en France depuis le seizieme sciecle,* Vol. II, Chap. I.

[2] See the original draft of "A Bill for Establishing a System of Public Education" of 1817, and Cabell's letter to Jefferson, December 26, 1817.

to control their government, and so to maintain their liberties. He advocated public support and control of education, but he strongly opposed centralized administration.

Jefferson's advocacy of local support and control of schools marks his widest departure from the doctrines respecting education of the French social philosophers and furnishes striking proof that in formulating his ideas he had consulted English and American institutions and authorities and American conditions. In his theory of education, as in all his major doctrines, Jefferson was influenced by French and English liberalism, by British institutions, and by the environment to which he belonged.[3]

Jefferson was perfectly conscious that these forces had influenced his thinking. In the "Notes on Virginia" he declares that the government of his state, in the shaping of which he had so large a part, "is a composition of the freest principles of the English constitution, with others derived from natural right and reason." In a letter to Thomas Mann Randolph he writes, "Locke's little book

[3] Dodd, W. E., "Statesmen of the Old South," and Parrington, "Main Currents in American Thought," pp. 343, 344.

on Government is perfect as far as it goes," and "Several of Hume's essays are good." He refers correspondents to these authors and to Sidney, Priestley, and Beccaria.[4] In a prospectus drawn for an American edition of Destutt Tracy's "A Treatise on Political Economy" he says: "Political economy in modern times assumed the form of a regular science first in the hands of a political sect in France, called the Economists. They made it a branch only of a comprehensive system of the natural order of societies. Quesnai first, Gournay, LeFrosne, Turgot and Dupont de Nemours . . . led the way in these developments, and gave to our inquiries the direction they have since observed." [5] The prospectus goes on to praise the writings of Jean Baptiste Say and Adam Smith.

Perhaps the most distinctive feature of Jefferson's plan for a system of public education was the machinery he devised for the local support and control of schools.[6] He is explicit in attributing a good deal of his preference for local government to his experiences with the New

[4] See a letter, of June 11, 1807, to John Norvell.

[5] WASHINGTON, H. A., "Writings of Thomas Jefferson," Vol. VI, p. 570.

[6] See Chaps. IV, *B*, and VII.

England towns. "These wards," he says, "called townships in New England, are the vital principle of their governments, and have proved themselves the wisest invention ever devised by the wit of man for the perfect exercise of self-government and for its preservation." [7] In warmly advocating the wards as units for the support and administration of primary schools and for other governmental purposes he recalls the resistance offered to his policy of the embargo, and says: "I felt the foundations of the government shaken under my feet by the New England township." [8]

Jefferson's letters contain specific references to his reading on pedagogical subjects and his study of European institutions. He tells Cabell that his plan to have a proctor at The Central College was suggested by the practice in Europe. He owned an Oxford and Cambridge Guide and Russell's "Tract on the Universities of Great Britain," both of which he loaned to Cabell.[9] In response to an inquiry, he says: "I have received in-

[7] Letter to Samuel Kerchival, July 12, 1816, WASHINGTON, H. A., *op. cit.*, Vol. VII, p. 13.

[8] Letter to J. C. Cabell, February 2, 1816, *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 544.

[9] ADAMS, H., "Thomas Jefferson and the University of Virginia," p. 74, footnote.

formation of Pestalozzi's mode of education from some European publications and Mr. Keefe's book which shows that the latter possesses both the talents and the zeal for carrying it into effect. I sincerely wish it success, convinced that the information of the people at large can alone make them the safe, as they are in the sole depository of our political and religious freedom." [10] In a letter of August 25, 1814, to Thomas Cooper, he refers to his plans for a university in which "all the sciences useful *to us* and *at this day,* should be taught in their highest degree," and continues, "But what are the sciences useful to us, and at this day thought useful to anybody? A glance over Bacon's *arbor scientiæ* will show the foundation for this question, and how many of his ramifications of science are now lopt off as nugatory." [11] It was from the "Arbor Scientiæ" that he drew his classification of the books of his library, a classification offering an interesting parallel to the division of the University of Virginia into schools.

The sources which we can definitely identify as hav-

[10] WASHINGTON, H. A., "The Writings of Thomas Jefferson," Letter to William Duane, September 16, 1810, Vol. V, p. 541.

[11] WASHINGTON, H. A., "The Writings of Thomas Jefferson," Vol. VI, p. 371.

ing furnished components in Jefferson's theory of education are few compared with those which we may be reasonably certain he drew upon.

Jefferson's personal contacts among men interested in the reform and progress of education were wide. We have his assurance, often repeated, that for years he was engaged in collecting materials for "a good plan" for the University of Virginia. In the course of this task, he sought the advice of Pictet, of the University of Geneva, and of his friends, John Adams, Joseph Priestley, Thomas Cooper, and many others. From his youth, he was much in the company of brilliant liberals. Professor Small, Chancellor Wythe, Governor Fauquier, Peyton Randolph, and Patrick Henry were friends of his young manhood. Franklin, Rush, Rittenhouse, and Dupont de Nemours were his intimates, members with him of the American Philosophical Society, and, like him, intensely interested in the development of a system of schools suited to American civilization. In France, he was in contact with the most brilliant minds among the liberals, notably with LaFayette, Correa de Serra, Alexander von Humbolt, Jean Baptiste Say, and Grimm. He had contacts with Cuvier and Buffon. Dugald Stewart

was on terms of intimacy with him and sent him an inscribed copy of at least one of his books. The brilliant George Tichnor visited at Monticello. Richard Price wrote him. The circle of his friends brought him into contact with every phase of the liberal movement in Europe and America between 1760 and 1826.

Jefferson read widely; particularly in the fields of law, political and economic theory, and history. The library that he sold to Congress contained about 6,500 books. He was especially fond of Greek and Latin literature, and is said to have owned copies of every one of the Greek and Latin classics extant in his day. Among his favorite authors were Homer, Aristotle, Tacitus, Thucydides, Demosthenes, Cicero, Plutarch, Xenophon, Euripides, Sophocles, Æschylus, Virgil, Horace, and Epictetus, and from the late middle ages, Dante. He was familiar with the works of the leading European scientists and writers on political and social topics. He knew Erasmus, but seems to have cared little for him. He leaned particularly on the British liberals of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and on the French liberals of his own day. In science, he knew Charron in psychology and owned Newton's "Principia."

It is virtually impossible to trace the course of the development of Jefferson's theory of education. In the first place, he habitually wrote just as he says he wrote the Declaration. ". . . Whether I had gathered my ideas from reading or reflection I do not know. I know only that I turned to neither book nor pamphlet while writing it. I did not consider it as any part of my charge to invent new ideas altogether, and to offer no sentiment which had ever been expressed before." [12] Those of his writings in which he finds it necessary to appeal to the law show how readily he could cite authorities, but he never makes any display of his reading in his other writings. For the most part, he advances his own opinions, without any claim to originality and without bolstering them up with citations. The task of tracing the forces which influenced his thinking is made still more difficult by the facts that he did not keep copies of his private letters until he went to France in 1783, and that he developed many of his ideas in conversation with his friends. Some glimpses of his intellectual life we do have. He knew Voltaire, Buffon, and the "Encyclope-

[12] Letter to James Madison, August 30, 1823.

dia" when he wrote the "Notes on Virginia," [13] and the Marquis de Chastellux, who visited him in the spring of 1782, regarded him as a philosopher of high attainments.

It is easy to underestimate the influence exercised over his development by British writers and institutions. Reference has been made to his debt to Locke and Hume. He speaks appreciatively of Bolingbroke, and it is easy to trace parallels between his thought and that of Milton. His division of the University of Virginia may have been suggested by practice in Europe, but it is more likely that he copied the usage at the College of William and Mary, which was, in Colonial days, an English institution on American soil. If others have overlooked Jefferson's debt to British thought and practice, he has not. He wrote: "Our laws, language, religion, politics and manners are so deeply laid in English foundations, that we shall never cease to consider their history as a part of ours, and to study ours in that as its origin." [14]

[13] 1782.

[14] To Colonel William Duane, August 12, 1810, WASHINGTON, H. A., "The Writings of Thomas Jefferson," Vol. V, p. 53.

On the other hand, the influence exercised over Jefferson by French thinkers is generally recognized. Milton and Locke are no more certainly reflected by the phrases of the "Declaration of Independence" than are the French humanitarians of the eighteenth century. Jefferson must, when in 1779 he offered "A Bill for the More General Diffusion of Knowledge," have known of Rolland's report of 1768, of La Chalotais's *"Essai d'education nationale,"* of Diderot's "Plan of a University," and Turgot's "Memoir of 1775." So close a student of European affairs doubtless had heard something of the *"Principia Regulativa"* of Frederick William I, and of "The General School Regulations" of Frederick the Great. Impossible as it is to list with completeness the writers upon whom Jefferson drew, it is easy to cite from earlier theory and practice anticipations of his views and achievements. It is not to be forgotten, however, that he was a profoundly original man.

Jefferson's distinctive contribution to theory of education grew out of his most characteristic political doctrine. A good government, so he believed, is a "wise and frugal" one, "which shall restrain men from injuring one another, which shall leave them otherwise free to

regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement, and shall not take from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned." [15] Men, he thought, may be trusted to rule themselves, but not to rule each other. "Cherish . . . the spirit of your people," he writes to Edward Carrington,[16] "and keep alive their attention. . . . If once they become inattentive to the public affairs, you and I, and Congress and Assemblies, Judges and Governors, shall all become wolves." To John Adams he writes, "No government can continue good but under the control of the people." In his old age he repeats the same sentiment. "I do believe that if the Almighty has not decreed that man shall never be free, (and it is a blasphemy to believe it,) that the secret will be found to be in the making himself the depository of the powers respecting himself, so far as he is competent to them. . . ." [17]

Upon this doctrine is based Jefferson's belief that the state should establish and maintain a system of public

[15] WASHINGTON, H. A., "Writings of Thomas Jefferson," "First Inaugural Address," Vol. VIII, pp. 3–4.

[16] January 16, 1887, WASHINGTON, H. A., *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 100.

[17] To Joseph C. Cabell, February 2, 1816, WASHINGTON, H. A., *op. cit.*, Vol. VI, p. 543.

instruction. He states this ground of a public-school system again and again. "It is an axiom in my mind," he writes to Washington, on January 4, 1787, "that our liberty can never be safe but in the hands of the people themselves, and that, too, of the people with a certain degree of instruction." Education is the business of the state because education is essential to the happiness, prosperity, and liberty of the people, and it is for the maintenance and promotion of these that the state exists.

This system he proposes to have supported by taxation, income from the literary fund, and by tuition charges in the secondary and higher institutions. Poor boys of talent, selected by a competitive system for their ability and diligence, were to be educated in secondary schools and the university.

Many persons in Jefferson's day felt that education was a matter to be cared for by private philanthropy and individual enterprise. Cabell had Adam Smith and Dugald Stewart quoted against him in support of this position. Against this Jefferson urged that the state has a stake in the education of its people and that their welfare is its prime business. He favored a measure of public control and support for all levels of instruction.

In the bill of 1817, he included the clause: "And it is declared and enacted, that no person unborn or under the age of twelve years, at the passing of this act, and who is *composmentis,* shall, after the age of fifteen years, be a citizen of this commonwealth until he or she can read readily in some tongue, native or acquired." [18] He goes on to discuss the limits of the rights and duties of societies as respects their infant members. "A question of some doubt might be raised on the latter part of this section, as to the rights and duties of society toward is members, infant and adult. Is it a right or duty in society to take care of their infant members, in opposition to the will of their parents? How far does this right and duty extend? to guard the life of the infant, his property, his instruction, his morals? The Roman father was supreme in all these; we draw a line: but where? Public sentiment does not seem to have traced it precisely. Nor is it necessary in the present case. It is better to tolerate the rare instance of a parent refusing to let his child be educated, than to shock the common feelings and ideas by the public asportation and education

[18] WASHINGTON, H. A., *op. cit.,* Vol. IX, p. 494. Dropped from the bill before it was finished on the advice of Cabell and others.

of the infant against the will of the father. What is proposed here is to remove the objection of expense, by offering education gratis, and to strengthen parental excitement by disfranchisement of his child while uneducated. Society has certainly a right to disavow him whom they offer, and are not permitted to qualify for the duties of a citizen. If we do not force instruction, let us at least strengthen the motives to receive it when offered." [19]

Jefferson never questions the right of the people to levy taxes through their representatives. He found it necessary, however, to meet the objection that it is unjust to take the property of one man to educate the children of another. He says: "And will the wealthy individual have no retribution? and what will this be? 1. The peopling of his neighborhood with honest, useful, and enlightened citizens, understanding their own rights, and firm in their perpetuation. 2. When his own descendants become poor, which they generally do within three generations, (no law of primogeniture now perpetuating wealth in the same families,) their

[19] "Early History of the University of Virginia as Contained in the Letters of Thomas Jefferson and Joseph C. Cabell," p. 97.

children will be educated by the then rich; and the little advance he now makes to poverty, while rich himself, will be repaid by the then rich, to his descendants when they become poor, and thus give them the chance of rising again." [20]

It is of advantage to the state to promote higher education because in colleges and universities are formed "the statesmen, legislators and judges, on whom public prosperity and individual happiness are so much to depend"; in them "the interests of agriculture, manufactures and commerce" are promoted, and there the "mathematical and physical sciences, which advance the arts, and administer to the health, the subsistence, and comforts of human life," are cherished. In a word, by providing for higher education legislators provide for the "good and ornament of their country." [21]

In proposing a system of public education, including every grade of instruction, and which should reach every citizen, Jefferson was advocating nothing essentially new. The French liberals had been explicit in

[20] Letter to J. C. Cabell, January 14, 1818, "Early History of the University of Virginia," p. 105.

[21] "The Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Fix the Site of the University of Virginia," Chap. VIII, §§ 3 and 4.

urging such a scheme for France. Diderot declared: "From the prime minister to the lowest peasant, it is good for everyone to know how to read, write and count." He demanded free tuition in elementary schools, and that attendance be made compulsory. He anticipated Jefferson in desiring governmental control of schools; proposing that an official of the state head the system of public instruction. Jefferson proposed to make the schools responsive to the public will by having them under the control of the Legislature, and of appointed officials called aldermen and visitors. La Chalotais, Rolland, Helvetius, and Diderot all believed that governments should undertake the support and control of education, and that knowledge of reading and writing ought to be universally diffused.

Jefferson was like the French liberals, too, in his zeal for free thought. In "An Act for Establishing Religious Freedom" he declared his faith "that truth is great and will prevail if left to herself; that she is the proper and sufficient antagonist to error, and has nothing to fear from the conflict, unless by human interposition disarmed of her natural weapons, free argument and debate, errors ceasing to be dangerous when it is per-

mitted freely to contradict them." He believed that the freedom and responsibility of all citizens are essential to good government,[22] and to progress. He wrote to Robert Fulton, "I am not afraid of new inventions or improvements, nor bigoted to the practices of our forefathers." [23] Of teaching at the University of Virginia he said: "This institution will be based on the illimitable freedom of the human mind. For here we are not afraid to follow truth wherever it may lead, nor to tolerate any error so long as reason is left free to combat it." [24] But one restriction was placed upon instruction there: the professor of government was required to be favorable to republican institutions. Typical of his hatred of obscurantism is the rather bombastic statement: "I have sworn upon the altar of God, eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man." [25]

The essential difference between Jefferson and the French liberals is stated in a letter to DuPont de Ne-

[22] Letter to DuPont de Nemours, April 24, 1816.

[23] March 17, 1810, WASHINGTON, H. A., *op. cit.*, Vol. V, p. 516.

[24] To Roscoe, December 27, 1820, WASHINGTON, H. A., *op. cit.*, Vol. VII, p. 196.

[25] To Benjamin Rush, September 23, 1800, WASHINGTON, H. A., *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 336.

mours. Both love the people, "But you," says Jefferson, "love them as infants whom you are afraid to trust without nurses; and I as adults whom I freely leave to self-government." [26] This preference for democracy over paternalism was the motive back of Jefferson's antipathy to the centralization of governmental powers and led him to favor the exercise of the utmost care in keeping America rural, and maintaining a homogeneous population.[27] He desired to administer the primary schools locally both because, as he believed, this scheme would prove economical, and because it would keep them responsive to the will of the people.

The education bills of 1779 and 1817 contain careful elaborations of Jefferson's scheme for the establishment, support, and administration of a state system of public instruction. For the financing and government of elementary schools, he relied upon local effort. "If it is believed," he writes to Cabell, "that these schools will be better managed by the governor and council, the commissioners of the literary fund, or any other general authority of the government, than by the parents

[26] April 24, 1816, WASHINGTON, H. A., *op. cit.*, Vol. VI, p. 591.

[27] "Notes on Virginia," Query XIX; Letter to Dr. Rush, September 23, 1800; Letter to Stoddert, February 18, 1809.

within each ward, it is a belief against all experience." [28]

Under the plan of 1779, each teacher was to have "his diet, lodging, and washing found him" by the inhabitants of the hundred in which he taught, and his salary "provided in such a manner as other county expenses." The bill of 1817 placed the entire burden of school support upon the ward, or district. In both bills it was provided that the building to house each common school was to be erected at the expense or by the labor of the electors of the district in which it was located.

The earlier plan provided that aldermen were to be chosen annually by the electors of each county, who were to have the government of the schools of the county. Each board of aldermen was to divide its county into hundreds, or school districts, and to call the electors of each hundred to decide upon the site of the schoolhouse. The aldermen were to choose an overseer for every ten elementary schools, or, if the number of districts was not a multiple of ten, each overseer was to be given a number of districts near to ten. Overseers were to appoint teachers to the schools, and have general superintendence of their work.

[28] February 2, 1816, WASHINGTON, H. A., *op. cit.*, Vol. VI, p. 543.

County overseers were to meet by districts, to fix for each section of the state a site for a grammar school, to be built out of funds from the public treasury and maintained by fees: the fees of boys holding scholarships being paid by the state.[29] Each of these grammar schools was to be under the government of a board of visitors appointed, one visitor from each county in the state, by the overseers of the elementary schools.

By the plan of 1817, visitors for the elementary schools of each county were to be appointed by the county judge of each county. Each board of visitors was to divide its county into wards, and call a meeting of the electors in each ward. In each meeting the site of a schoolhouse was to be agreed upon, and a Warden resident elected. The Warden was to superintend the erection of the schoolhouse, the work to be done by the labor or at the expense of the electors of the ward in which it was located, and to care for it later. The visitors of a county were to govern the schools of their county. Under both earlier and later plans, the elementary schools were to be open for three years to each child in the ward without any charge for tuition.

[29] For the plan for state scholars see Chap. IV.

Secondary schools, called colleges, were to be erected in each of nine districts in the state: their establishment and administration being in the hands of visitors appointed by the President and Directors of the Literary Fund; these latter to be called the Board of Public Instruction. Colleges were to be built out of state funds, and maintained in part by funds from the Board of Public Instruction and in part by fees.[30]

The university was, like other educational institutions, to be under a board of visitors. Perhaps Jefferson was influenced by the long struggle between fellows and visitors that had so troubled the College of William and Mary. Certainly he was influenced by American practice as it had evolved at Harvard, Yale, Princeton, and at the College of Philadelphia.[31]

While Jefferson's plans anticipated at many points later American practice, they had many excellencies which it would have done well to have copied. The district organization would never have run rampant

[30] See Chap. VII.

[31] It is interesting to speculate as to the influence of Franklin, moving spirit in the founding of that innovator among American colleges, the College of Philadelphia, upon Jefferson. The three "schools" of the Academy of Philadelphia anticipate the nine proposed for the University of Virginia.

under his scheme of county visitors and overseers and of the state divided into nine districts for the support and administration of secondary schools.

The aim of public instruction, he thought of as human happiness and welfare. This was to be achieved by educating a few for leadership, and the many in a fashion adapted "to their condition." Although Jefferson recognized that there are great differences in native ability, and desired to cull "from every condition of our people the natural aristocracy of talent and virtue," and to prepare "it by education at the public expense, for the care of the public concerns," [32] he was a friend to the entire school system. Seeing the bills for the more general diffusion of knowledge fail, and fearing that he had "meddled" unwisely, he consented to give up his scheme for the elementary schools for a time, and to turn his entire attention to the affairs of Central College.[33] But he turned back to his plan for a complete system at every hint that it had the slightest prospect

[32] Letter to John Adams, July 5, 1814, WASHINGTON, H. A., *op. cit.*, Vol. VI, pp. 355–356, "Notes on Virginia," Query XIV.

[33] Letter to Cabell, February 16, 1818, and a second to him, January 28, 1823, "Early History of the University of Virginia," pp. 270–271.

for success. He wrote to General Breckenridge, February 15, 1821: "Nobody can doubt my zeal for the general instruction of the people. . . . I never have proposed a sacrifice of the primary to the ultimate grade of instruction. Let us keep our eye steadily on the whole system." [34] And to Cabell he wrote in a strain that reminds one of a famous passage in the works of Pestalozzi: "Were it necessary to give up either the Primaries or the University I would rather abandon the last, because it is safer to have a whole people respectably enlightened, than a few in a high state of science, and the many in ignorance. This last is the most dangerous state in which a nation can be. The nations and governments of Europe are so many proofs of it." [35]

The history of the University of Virginia furnishes abundant proof of how wisely Jefferson planned for it. His plans for a public-school system were as complete, as comprehensive, as practical. They are in striking contrast to the long list of proposals advanced in Amer-

[34] WASHINGTON, H. A., op. cit., Vol. VI, p. 205; his letter of July 5, 1814, to John Adams, reveals his attachment to the entire scheme.

[35] January 13, 1823, "Early History of the University of Virginia," pp. 266–268.

ican legislatures to build systems of schools without any cost to anyone. His plans were adapted to the America of Jefferson's day, and he had not the slightest wish that any man should cling to them after they had lost their usefulness. "Nobody," he declares, "more strongly than myself, advocates the right of every generation to legislate for itself, and the advantages which each succeeding generation has over the preceding one, from the constant progress of science and the arts." [36] His faith in education, in the future, and in mankind are reflected in his writings nowhere more faithfully than in a passage from a letter of January 14, 1818, to his friend Joseph C. Cabell:

A system of general instruction, which shall reach every description of our citizens, from the richest to the poorest, as it was the earliest, so it will be the latest, of all the public concerns in which I shall permit myself to take an interest. Nor am I tenacious of the form in which it shall be introduced. Be that what it may, our descendants will be as wise as we are, and will know how to amend and amend it until it shall suit their circumstances. Give it to us, then, in any shape, and re-

[36] To J. C. Cabell, February 16, 1818, "Early History of the University of Virginia," p. 124.

ceive for the inestimable boon the thanks of the young and the blessings of the old. . . .

By giving expression, through the founding of the University of Virginia, to his views respecting the scope and function of higher education, Jefferson inaugurated a new era in American education. It was his belief that the university exists to "advance the knowledge and well-being of mankind," [37] through the selection and training of leaders and through progress in the sciences.[38] Other American colleges had, of course, been founded to train leaders in "moral, political and economical" affairs. Jefferson was, however, the first American to establish a university "instituted for the interpreting of nature, and the producing of great and marvelous works, for the benefit of men." [39]

Reference has been made to the fact that in preparing himself to take the lead in establishing the University of Virginia, Jefferson made himself "acquainted with the organization of the best seminaries in other coun-

[37] "Early History of the University of Virginia," pp. 435–437.

[38] Letter to John Adams, July 5, 1814.

[39] William Rawley, writing on Bacon's "fable" of Solomon's House in "The New Atlantis."

tries, and with the opinions of the most enlightened individuals, on the subject of the sciences most worthy of a place in such an institution." [40] He has left record that he had read Bacon. He was an Associate of The Academy of Science and Fine Arts of the United States, projected by Quesnay de Beaurepaire. A student of the mathematical writings of Christian Wolff and the friend of Grimm and of George Tichnor, he must have been familiar with the character of the reformed German universities. There are, also, facts which indicate that he owed a considerable debt to Condorcet. His writings, after 1809, contain a number of references to the doctrine of man's capacity for infinite progress and ultimate perfection. While he rejects this doctrine, he is firm in the conviction that the condition of humanity can be indefinitely ameliorated, and that education is the great means by which this improvement may be effected. This by itself is not enough to establish his debt to Condorcet; but his plan for the course of study of the Central College parallels the organization of the institutes and lycees of Condorcet's "Report" in striking

[40] Letter to Peter Carr, "Early History of the University of Virginia," p. 384.

fashion, and his proposal that workingmen be given elementary and practical instruction, with classes in the evening so that the day's work might not be interfered with, gives abundant ground for believing that he had learned from the great theorist of education of the French Revolution. No estimate of what Jefferson had learned of higher education from his study of European institutions and of the views of distinguished men can be more just than his own: "The example they have set, then, is authority for us to select from their different institutions the materials which are good *for us,* and, with them, to erect a structure, whose arrangements shall correspond with our own social condition, and shall admit of enlargement in proportion to the encouragement it may merit and receive." [41]

[41] Letter to Peter Carr, September 7, 1814, "Early History of the University of Virginia," p. 384.

PART II

THOMAS JEFFERSON ON EDUCATION

CHAPTER IV

JEFFERSON'S EARLY EFFORTS IN BEHALF OF PUBLIC EDUCATION

After the signing of the Declaration of Independence, Thomas Jefferson declined further service in Congress and returned to Virginia, where, on October 7, 1776, he took his seat in the House of Representatives at Williamsburg. He returned to the Legislature of his own state in order to have a part in the establishment and re-organization of the courts of justice and in the revision of the laws. Jefferson, Wythe, Pendleton, George Mason, and Thomas L. Lee were appointed a committee to revise the whole body of the laws of Virginia; the work fell on Jefferson, Wythe, and Pendleton. Three bills from the pen of Jefferson are of especial interest to the student of the history of education: they are "A Bill for the More General Diffusion of Knowledge," "A Bill for Amending the Charter of the College of William and Mary," and a third making provision for a public library.

These bills may be found in Vol. II of "The Works of Thomas Jefferson," by P. L. Ford.

The first of these bills was considered in many meetings of the Assembly; it was finally so amended as to defeat its purpose and passed in 1796. The other bills seem to have aroused little interest.

Preamble of "A Bill for the More General Diffusion of Knowledge" [1]

WHEREAS it appeareth that however certain forms of government are better calculated than others to protect individuals in the free exercise of their natural rights, and are at the same time themselves better guarded against degeneracy, yet experience has shown, that even under the best forms, those entrusted with power have, in time, and by slow operations, perverted it into tyranny; and it is believed that the most effectual means of preventing this would be to illuminate, as far as practicable, the minds of the people at

[1] RANDALL, HENRY S., "Life and Times of Thomas Jefferson," Vol. I, p. 224.

large, and more especially to give them knowledge of those facts, which history exhibiteth, that, possessed thereby of the experience of other ages and countries, they may be enabled to know ambition under all its shapes, and prompt to exert their natural powers to defeat its purposes: And whereas it is generally true that the people will be happiest whose laws are best, and are best administered, and that laws will be wisely formed, and honestly administered, in proportion as those who form and administer them are wise and honest; whence it becomes expedient for promoting the public happiness that those persons, whom nature hath endowed with genius and virtue, should be rendered by liberal education worthy to receive, and able to regard the sacred deposits of the rights and liberties of their fellow citizens, and that they should be called to that charge without regard to wealth, birth, or other accidental condition or circumstance; but the indigence of the greater number disabling them from so educating, at their own expense, those of their children whom nature hath fitly formed and disposed to become useful instruments for the public, it is better that such should be sought for, and educated at the common expense of

all, than that the happiness of all should be confined to the weak or wicked.

Jefferson's Summary of the Early Bills for Promoting Education [2]

Another object of the revisal is, to diffuse knowledge more generally through the mass of the people. This bill proposes to lay off every county into small districts of five or six miles square, called hundreds, and in each of them to establish a school for teaching reading, writing and arithmetic. The tutor to be supported by the hundred, and every person in it entitled to send their children three years gratis, and as much longer as they please, paying for it. These schools to be under a visitor who is annually to choose the boy of best genius in the school, of those whose parents are too poor to give them further education, and to send him forward to one of the grammar schools, of which twenty are proposed to be erected in different parts of the country, for teaching Greek, Latin, Geography, and the higher

[2] JEFFERSON, THOMAS, "Notes on Virginia," pp. 200–205, Philadelphia, 1825.

branches of numerical arithmetic. Of the boys thus sent in one year, trial is to be made at the grammar schools one or two years, and the best genius of the whole selected, and continued six years, and the residue dismissed. By this means twenty of the best geniuses will be raked from the rubbish annually, and be instructed, at the public expense, so far as the grammar schools go. At the end of six years instruction, one-half are to be discontinued (from among whom the grammar schools will probably be supplied with future masters;) and the other half, who are to be chosen for the superiority of their parts and disposition, are to be sent and continued three years in the study of such sciences as they shall choose, at William and Mary college, the plan of which is proposed to be enlarged, as will be hereafter explained, and extended to all the useful sciences. The ultimate result of the whole scheme of education would be the teaching all the children of the State reading, writing, and common arithmetic: turning out ten annually, of superior genius, well taught in Greek, Latin, Geography, and the higher branches of arithmetic, turning out ten others annually of still superior parts, who, to those branches of learning, shall have

added such of the sciences as their genius shall have led them to; the furnishing to the wealthier part of the people convenient schools at which their children may be educated at their own expense. The general objects of this law are to provide an education adapted to the years, to the capacity, and the condition of every one, and directed to their freedom and happiness. Specific details were not proper for the law. These must be the business of the visitors entrusted with its execution. The first stage of this education being the schools of the hundreds, wherein the great mass of the people will receive their instruction, the principal foundations of the future order will be laid here. Instead, therefore, of putting the Bible and Testament into the hands of the children at an age when their judgments are not sufficiently matured for religious inquiries, their memories may here be stored with the most useful facts from Grecian, Roman, European and American history. The first elements of morality too may be instilled into their minds; such as, when further developed as their judgments advance in strength, may teach them how to work out their own greatest happiness, by shewing (sic) them that it does not depend on the condition of

life in which chance has placed them, but is always the result of a good conscience, good health, occupation, and freedom in all just pursuits. Those whom either the wealth of their parents or the adoption of the State shall destine to higher degrees of learning, will go on to the grammar schools, which constitute the next stage, there to be instructed in the languages. The learning Greek and Latin, I am told, is going into disuse in Europe. I know not what their manners and occupations may call for: but it would be very ill-judged in us to follow their example in this instance. There is a certain period of life, say from eight to fifteen or sixteen years of age, when the mind like the body is not yet firm enough for laborious and close operations. If applied to such, it falls an early victim to premature exertion: exhibiting, indeed, at first, in these young and tender subjects, the flattering appearance of their being men while they are yet children, but ending in reducing them to be children when they should be men. The memory is then most susceptible and tenacious of impressions; and the learning of languages being chiefly a work of memory, it seems precisely fitted to the powers of this period, which is long enough too for acquiring the most useful

languages, ancient and modern. . . . As soon as they are of sufficient age, it is supposed they will be sent on from the grammar schools to the university, which constitutes our third and last stage, there to study those sciences which may be adapted to their views. By that part of our plan which prescribes the selection of the youths of genius from among the classes of the poor, we hope to avail the State of those talents which nature has has sown as liberally among the poor as the rich, but which perish without use, if not sought for and cultivated. But of the views of this law none is more important, none more legitimate, than that of rendering the people the safe, as they are the ultimate, guardians of their own liberty. For this purpose the reading in the first stage, where *they* will receive their whole education, is proposed, as has been said, to be chiefly historical. History, by apprizing them of the past will enable them to judge of the future; it will avail them of the experience of other times and other nations; it will qualify them as judges of the actions and designs of men; it will enable them to know ambition under every disguise it may assume; and knowing it, to defeat its views. In every government on earth is some trace of

human weakness, some germ of corruption and degeneracy, which cunning will discover, and wickedness insensibly open, cultivate and improve. Every government degenerates when trusted to the rulers of the people alone. The people themselves therefore are its only safe depositories. And to render even them safe, their minds must be improved to a certain degree. . . .

Lastly, it is proposed, by a bill in this revisal, to begin a public library and gallery, by laying out a certain sum annually in books, paintings, and statues.

CHAPTER V

A BILL FOR ESTABLISHING RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

This bill, drawn while Jefferson, Wythe, and Pendleton were at work on the revisal, 1776–1779, was passed by the Virginia Legislature in substantially the form in which it was introduced. It is here copied from "The Life and Times of Thomas Jefferson," by Henry S. Randall, New York, 1858, Vol. I, pp. 219–220. Randall indicates changes made in the original bill by printing parts struck out by the Legislature in italics, placing inserted words in brackets, and introducing three slight alterations in the margin. The reader will recall that it is this act which is mentioned on the monument over Jefferson's tomb.

WELL aware *that the opinions and belief of men depend not on their own will, but follow involuntarily the evidence proposed to their minds;* that Al-

mighty God hath created the mind free, *and manifested his supreme will that free it shall remain by making it altogether insusceptible of restraint;* that all attempts to influence it by temporal punishments or burdens, or by civil incapacitations, tend only to beget habits of hypocrisy and meanness, and are a departure from the plan of the Holy Author of our religion, who being Lord both of body and mind, yet chose not to propagate it by coertions on either, as was in his Almighty power to do, *but to extend its influence on reason alone;* that the impious presumption of legislators and rulers, civil as well as ecclesiastical, who, being themselves but fallible and uninspired men, have assumed dominion over the faith of others, setting up their own opinions and modes of thinking as the only true and infallible, and as such endeavoring to impose them on others, hath established and maintained false religions over the greatest part of the world, and through all time: that to compel a man to furnish contributions of money for the propagation of opinions which he disbelieves *and abhors,* is sinful and tyrannical; that even the forcing him to support this or that teacher of his own religious persuasion, is depriving him of the comfortable liberty of giving his

contributions to the particular pastor whose morals he would make his pattern, and whose powers he feels most persuasive to righteousness, and is withdrawing from the ministry those temporary rewards, which proceeding from an approbation of their personal conduct, are an additional incitement to earnest and unremitting labors for the instruction of mankind; that our civil rights have no dependence on our religious opinions, *any* more than our opinions in physics or geometry; that, therefore, the proscribing any citizen as unworthy the public confidence by laying upon him an incapacity of being called to (the) offices of trust and emolument, unless he profess or renounce this or that religious opinion, is depriving him injuriously of those privileges and advantages to which, in common with his fellow-citizens, he has a natural right; that it tends also to corrupt the principles of that very religion it is meant to encourage, by bribing, with a monopoly of worldly honors and emoluments, those who will externally profess and conform to it; that though indeed these are criminal who do not withstand such temptation, yet neither are those innocent who lay the bait in their way; *that the opinions of men are not*

the object of civil government nor under its jurisdiction; that to suffer the civil magistrate to intrude his powers into the field of opinion and to restrain the profession or propagation of principles, on (the) supposition of their ill tendency is a dangerous fallacy, which at once destroys all religious liberty, because he being of course judge of that tendency will make his opinions the rule of judgment, and approve or condemn the sentiments of others only as they shall square with or differ from his own; that it is time enough for the rightful purposes of civil government, for its officers to interfere when principles break out into overt acts against peace and good order; and finally, that truth is great and will prevail if left to herself; that she is the proper and sufficient antagonist to error, and has nothing to fear from the conflict, unless by human interposition disarmed of her natural weapons, free argument and debate; errors ceasing to be dangerous when it is permitted freely to contradict them.

We, the General Assembly, do enact, That no man shall be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship, place, or ministry whatsoever, nor shall be enforced, restrained, molested, or burthened in his body

or goods, nor shall otherwise suffer on account of his religious opinions or belief; but that all men shall be free to profess, and by argument to maintain, their opinions in matters of religion, and that the same shall in nowise diminish, enlarge, or affect their civil capacities.

And though we know well this Assembly, elected by the people for the ordinary purposes of legislation only, have no power to restrain the acts of succeeding Assemblies, constituted with powers equal to our own, and that therefore to declare this act irrevocable, would be of no effect in law, yet we are free to declare, and do declare, that the rights hereby asserted are of the natural rights of mankind, and that if any act shall be hereafter passed to repeal the present or to narrow its operation, such act will be an infringement of natural right.

CHAPTER VI

PLAN OF A COLLEGE: A LETTER TO PETER CARR

Peter Carr was President of the Trustees of Albemarle Academy, an institution located at Charlottesville, which by an act of the General Assembly became The Central College, a paper organization, the resources of which were turned over to the University of Virginia, when that institution was located at Charlottesville. Jefferson's letter was originally published in the *Richmond Enquirer,* and widely circulated by the supporters of the movement to establish the University of Virginia. It may be found in "Early History of the University of Virginia as Contained in the Letters of Thomas Jefferson and Joseph C. Cabell," pp. 384–390.

Monticello, September 7th, 1814.

DEAR SIR,—On the subject of the academy or college proposed to be established in our neighborhood, I

promised the trustees that I would prepare for them a plan, adapted, in the first instance, to our slender funds, but susceptible of being enlarged, either by their own growth or by accession from other quarters.

I have long entertained the hope that this, our native State, would take up the subject of education, and make an establishment, either with or without incorporation into that of William & Mary, where every branch of science, deemed useful at this day, should be taught in its highest degree. With this view, I have lost no occasion of making myself acquainted with the organization of the best seminaries in other countries, and with the opinions of the most enlightened individuals, on the subject of the sciences worthy of a place in such an institution. In order to prepare what I have promised our trustees, I have lately revised these several plans with attention; and I am struck with the diversity of arrangement observable in them—no two alike. Yet, I have no doubt that these several arrangements have been the subject of mature reflection, by wise and learned men, who, contemplating local circumstances, have adapted them to the condition of the section of society for which they

have been framed. I am strengthened in this conclusion by an examination of each separately, and a conviction that no one of them, if adopted without change, would be suited to the circumstances and pursuit of our country. The example they have set, then, is authority for us to select from their different institutions the materials which are good *for us,* and, with them, to erect a structure, whose arrangement shall correspond with our own social condition, and shall admit of enlargement in proportion to the encouragement it may merit and receive. As I may not be able to attend the meetings of the trustees, I will make you the depository of my ideas on the subject, which may be corrected, as you proceed, by the better view of others, and adapted, from time to time, to the prospects which open upon us and which cannot be specifically seen and provided for.

In the first place, we must ascertain with precision the object of our institution, by taking a survey of the general field of science, and marking out the portion we mean to occupy at first, and the ultimate extension of our views beyond that, should we be enabled to render it, in the end, as comprehensive as we would wish.

1. Elementary Schools

It is highly interesting to our country, and it is the duty of its functionaries, to provide that every citizen in it should receive an education proportioned to the condition and pursuits of his life. The mass of our citizens may be divided into two classes—the laboring and the learned. The laboring will need the first grade of education to qualify them for their pursuits and duties; the learned will need it as a foundation for further acquirements. A plan was formerly proposed to the Legislature of this State for laying off every county into hundreds or wards of five or six miles square, within each of which should be a school for the education of the children of the ward, wherein they should receive three years' instruction gratis, in reading, writing, arithmetic, as far as fractions, the roots and ratios, and geography. The Legislature, at one time, tried an ineffectual expedient for introducing this plan, which having failed, it is hoped they will some day resume it in a more promising form.

2. General Schools

At the discharging of the pupils from the elementary schools, the two classes separate—those destined for labor will engage in the business of agriculture, or enter into app(r)enticeships to such handicraft art as may be their choice; their companions, destined to the pursuits of science, will proceed to the college, which will consist, 1st, of General Schools; and 2d, of Professional Schools. The General Schools will constitute the second grade of education.

The learned class may still be subdivided into two sections; 1, Those who are destined for learned professions, as a means of livelihood; and 2, The wealthy, who, possessing independent fortunes may aspire to share in conducting the affairs of the nation, or to live with usefulness and respect in the private ranks of life. Both of these sections will require instruction in all the higher branches of science; the wealthy to qualify them for either public or private life; the professional section will need those branches, especially, which are the basis of their future profession, and a general knowledge of the others, as auxiliary to that, and necessary to their

standing and associating with the scientific class. All the branches, then, of useful science, ought to be taught in the general schools, to a competent extent, in the first instance. These sciences may be arranged into three departments, not rigorously scientific, indeed, but sufficiently so for our purposes. These are, I, Language; II, Mathematics; III, Philosophy.

I. *Language.*—In the first department, I would arrange a distinct science. 1, Languages and History, ancient and modern; 2, Grammar; 3, Belles Lettres; 4, Rhetoric and Oratory; 5, A School for the deaf, dumb and blind. History is here associated with languages, not as a kindred subject, but on a principle of economy, because both may be attained by the same course of reading, if books are selected with that view.

II. *Mathematics.*—In the department of mathematics, I should give place distinctly, 1, Mathematics pure; 2, Physico-Mathematics; 3, Physic; 4, Chemistry; 5, Natural History, *to wit:* Mineralogy; 6, Botany; and 7, Zoology; 8, Anatomy; 9, the Theory of Medicine.

III. *Philosophy.*—In the Philosophical department, I should distinguish, 1, Ideology; 2, Ethics; 3, the Law

of Nature and Nations; 4, Government; 5, Political Economy.

But, some of these terms being used by different writers, in different degrees of extension, I shall define exactly what I mean to comprehend in each of them.

I. 3. Within the term of Belles Lettres I include poetry and composition generally, and Criticism.

II. 1. I consider pure Mathematics as the science of, I, Numbers, and II, Measure in the abstract; that of numbers comprehending Arithmetic, Algebra and Fluxions; that of Measure (under the general appellation of Geometry) comprehending Trigonometry, plane and spherical, conic sections, and transcendental curves.

II. 2. Physico-Mathematics treat of physical subjects by the aid of mathematical calculation. These are Mechanics, Statics, Hydrostatics, Hydrodynamics, Navigation, Astronomy, Geography, Optics, Pneumatics, Acoustics.

II. 3. Physics, or Natural Philosophy, (not entering the limits of Chemistry,) treat of natural substances, their properties, mutual relations and action. They

particularly examine the subjects of motion, action, magnetism, electricity, galvanism, light, meteorology, with an &c. not easily enumerated. These definitions and specifications render immaterial the question whether I use the Generic terms in the exact degree of comprehension in which others use them; to be understood is all that is necessary to the present object.

3. Professional Schools

At the close of this course the students separate; the wealthy retiring, with a sufficient stock of knowledge, to improve themselves to any degree to which their views may lead them, and the professional section to the professional schools, constituting the third grade of education, and teaching the particular sciences which the individuals of this section mean to pursue, with more minuteness and detail than was within the scope of the general schools for the second grade of instruction. In these professional schools each science is to be taught in the highest degree it has yet attained. They are to be the

1st *Department,* the fine arts, to-wit: Civil Architec-

ture, Gardening, Painting, Sculpture, and the theory of Music; the

2d *Department,* Architecture, Military and Naval; Projectiles, Rural Economy, (comprehending Agriculture, Horticulture and Veterinary,) Technical Philosophy, the practice of Medicine, Materia Medica, Pharmacy and Surgery. In the

3d *Department,* Theology and Ecclesiastical History; Law, Municipal and Foreign.

To these professional schools will come those who separated at the close of their first elementary course, to-wit:

The lawyer to the school of law.

The ecclesiastic to that of theology and ecclesiastical history.

The physician to those of the practice of medicine, materia medica, pharmacy and surgery.

The military man to that of military and naval architecture and projectiles.

The agricultor to that of rural economy.

The gentleman, the architect, the pleasure gardener, painter and musician to the school of fine arts.

And to that of technical philosophy will come the

mariner, carpenter, shipwright, pump maker, clock maker, machinist, optician, metallurgist, founder, cutler, druggist, brewer, vintner, distiller, dyer, painter, bleecher, soap maker, tanner, powder maker, salt maker, glass maker, to learn as much as shall be necessary to pursue their art understandingly, of the sciences of geometry, mechanics, statics, hydrostatics, hydraulics, hydrodynamics, navigation, astronomy, geography, optics, pneumatics, acoustics, physics, chemistry, natural history, botany, mineralogy and pharmacy.

The school of technical philosophy will differ essentially in its functions from the other professional schools. The others are instituted to ramify and dilate the particular sciences taught in the schools of the second grade on a general scale only. The technical school is to abridge those which were taught there too much *in extenso* for the limited wants of the artificer or practical man. These artificers must be grouped together, according to the particular branch of science in which they need elementary and practical instruction; and a special lecture or lectures should be prepared for each group—and these lectures should be given in the evening, so as not to interrupt the labors of the day. The

school, particularly, should be maintained wholly at the public expense, on the same principles with that of the ward schools. Through the whole of the collegiate course, at the hours of recreation on certain days, all the students should be taught the manual exercise, military evolutions and manoeuvres, should be under a standing organization as a military corps, and with proper officers to train and command them.

A tabular statement of this distribution of the sciences will place the system of instruction more particularly in view:

1st or Elementary Grade in the Ward Schools

Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Geography.

2d, or General Grade

1. Language and History, ancient and modern.
2. Mathematics, viz:
   - Mathematics pure,
   - Physico-Mathematics,
   - Physics,
   - Chemistry,
   - Anatomy,
   - Theory of Medicine,
   - Zoology,
   - Botany and Mineralogy.
3. Philisophy, viz:
   - Ideology, and Ethics,
   - Law of Nature and Nations,
   - Government,
   - Political Economy.

3d, or Professional Grades

Theology and Ecclesiastical History.
Law, Municipal and Foreign.
Practice of Medicine.
Materia Medica and Pharmacy.
Surgery.
Architecture, Military and Naval, and Projectiles.
Technical Philosophy.
Rural Economy.
Fine Arts.

On this survey of the field of science, I recur to the question, what portion of it we mark out for the occupation of our institution? With the first grade of education we shall have nothing to do. The sciences of the second grade are our first object; and to adapt them to our slender beginnings, we must separate them into groups, comprehending many sciences each, and greatly more, in the first instance, than ought to be imposed on, or can be competently conducted by a single professor permanently. They must be subdivided from time to time, as our means increase, until each professor shall have no more under his care than he can attend to with advantage to his pupils and ease to himself. In

the further advance of our resources, the professional schools must be introduced, and professorships established for them also. For the present, we may group the sciences into professorships, as follows, subject, however, to be changed, according to the qualifications of the persons we may be able to engage.

I. *Professorship*

Language and History, ancient and modern.
Belles Lettres, Rhetoric and Oratory.

II. *Professorship*

Mathematics pure—Physico-Mathematics.
Physics—Anatomy—Medicine—Theory.

III. *Professorship*

Chemistry—Zoology—Botany—Mineralogy.

IV. *Professorship*

Philosophy.

The organization of the branch of the institution which respects its government, police and economy, depending on principles which have no affinity with those

of its institution, may be the subject of separate and subsequent consideration.

With this tribute of duty to the Board of Trustees, accept the assurance of my great esteem and consideration.

Th: Jefferson.

CHAPTER VII

A BILL FOR ESTABLISHING A SYSTEM OF PUBLIC EDUCATION

In a letter of January 5, 1815, to Joseph C. Cabell, Jefferson launched his carefully prepared campaign which resulted in the founding of the University of Virginia. The whole question of a system of public education was soon under discussion, and Jefferson, at Cabell's request, "put into the form of a bill" his "plan for establishing the elementary schools without taking a cent from the literary fund." He sent the bill to his correspondent with a letter of September 9, 1817. Printed in "Early History of the University of Virginia as Contained in the Letters of Thomas Jefferson and Joseph C. Cabell," pp. 413–427.

FOR establishing schools at which the children of all the citizens of this Commonwealth may receive a primary grade of education at the common expense.

Be it enacted by the General Assembly of Virginia as follows:

At the first session of the Superior Court in every county within this Commonwealth, next ensuing the passage of this act, the Judge thereof shall appoint three discreet and well informed persons, residents of the county, to serve as Visitors of the primary schools in the said county, of which appointment the sheriff shall, within fifteen days thereafter, deliver a certificate under the hand of the clerk of the said court to each of the persons so appointed.

2. The said Visitors shall meet at the courthouse of their county on the first county court day after they shall have received notice of their appointment, and afterwards at such times and places as they, or any two of them, with reasonable notice to the third, shall have agreed, and shall proceed to divide their county into wards,[1] by metes and bounds so designated, as to comprehend each about the number of militia sufficient for a company, and so also as not to divide and place in different wards the lands of any one person held in one

[1] The notion of dividing the state into a multitude of small units which should govern themselves as respects all local matters was a favorite one with Jefferson.

body, which divisions into wards shall, within six months from the date of their appointment, be completely designated, published and reported, by their metes and bounds, to the office of the clerk of the Superior Court, there to be recorded; subject, however, to such alterations from time to time afterwards, as changes of circumstances shall, in the opinion of the said Visitors, or their successors, with the approbation of the said court, render expedient.

3. The said original division into wards being made, the Visitors shall appoint days for the first meeting of every ward at such place as they shall name within the same; of which appointment notice shall be given at least two weeks before the day of meeting, by advertisement at some place within the ward, requiring every free white male citizen of full age, resident within the ward, to meet at the place, and by the hour of 12 of the day so appointed; at which meeting some one of the Visitors shall also attend; and, a majority of the said Warders being in attendance, the Visitors present shall propose to them to decide, by a majority of their votes, the location of a school house for the ward, and of a dwelling house for the teacher, (the owner of the

ground consenting thereto,) the size and structure of the said houses, and whether the same shall be built by the joint labor of the Warders, or by their pecuniary contributions; and also to elect, by a plurality of their votes, a Warden resident, who shall direct and superintend the said buildings, and be charged with their future care.[2]

4. And if they decide that the said buildings shall be erected by the joint labor of the Warders, then all persons within the said ward, liable to work on the highways, shall attend at the order of the Warden, and, under his direction shall labor thereon until completed, under the same penalties as provided by law to enforce labor on the highways; and, if they decide on erection by pecuniary contributions, the residents and owners of property within the ward, shall contribute toward the cost, each in proportion to the taxes they last paid to the State for their persons and for the same property, of which the sheriff shall furnish a statement to the Warden, who, according to the ratio of that statement, shall apportion and assess the quota of contribution for

[2] Jefferson believed that the wards would generally "build log houses for the school and teacher." He aimed at complete local support and control of elementary schools.

each, and be authorized to demand, receive, and apply the same to the purposes of the contribution, and to render account thereof, as in all other of his pecuniary transactions for the school to the Visitors; and on failure of payment by any contributor, the sheriff, on the order of the Warden, first approved by the Visitors, shall collect and render the same, under like powers and regulations as provided for the collection of the public taxes. And in every case it shall be the duty of the Warden to have the buildings completed within six months from the date of his election.

5. It shall be the duty of the said Visitors to seek and employ for every ward, whenever the number and ages of its children require it, a person of good moral character, qualified to teach reading, writing, numerical arithmetic, and the elements of geography, whose subsistence shall be furnished by the residents and proprietors of the ward, either in money or in kind, at the choice of each contributor, and in the ratio of their public taxes, to be apportioned and levied as on the failures before provided for. The teacher shall also have the use of the house and accommodations provided for him, and shall moreover receive annually such standing

wages as the Visitors shall have determined, to be proportioned on the residents and proprietors of the ward, and to be paid, levied, and applied as before provided in other cases of pecuniary contribution.

6. At this school shall be received and instructed gratis, every infant in the ward, of competent age, who has not already had three years' schooling.

7. And to keep up a constant succession of Visitors, the Judge of the Superior Court of every county shall, at his first session in every bissextile year, appoint Visitors, as before characterized, either the same or others, at his discretion, and, in case of the death or resignation of any Visitor, during the term of his appointment, or of his removal from the county, or by the said Judge for good cause, moral or physical, he shall appoint another to serve until the next bissextile appointment; which Visitors shall have their first meeting at their court-house, on the county court day next ensuing their appointment; and afterwards at such times and places as themselves or any two of them, with reasonable notice to the third, shall agree; but the election of Wardens shall be annually at the first meeting of the ward, after

the month of March, until which election the Warden last elected shall continue in office.

8. All ward meetings shall be at their school house, and on failure of the meeting of a majority of the Warders on the call of a Visitor, or of their Warden, such Visitor or Warden may call another meeting.

9. At all times when repairs or alterations of the buildings before provided for shall be wanting, it shall be the duty of the Warden, or of a Visitor, to call a ward meeting, and to take the same measures towards such repairs or alterations as herein before authorized for the original buildings.

10. Where, on the application of any Warden, authorized thereto by the vote of his ward, the Judge of the Superior Court shall be of opinion that the contributors of any particular ward are disproportionately and oppressively over-burthened with an unusual number of children of non-contributors of their ward, he may direct an order to the county court to assess in their next county levy the whole or such part of the extra burthen as he shall think excessive and unreasonable, to be paid to the Warden, for its proper use, to which

order the said county court is required to conform.

11. The said teachers shall, in all things relating to the education and government of their pupils, be under the direction and control of the Visitors.

12. Some one of the Visitors, once in every year at least, shall visit the school, shall enquire into the proceedings and practices thereat, shall examine the progress of the pupils, and give to those who excel in reading, in writing, in arithmetic, or in geography, such honorary marks and testimonies of approbation as may encourage and excite to industry and emulation.

13. All decisions and proceedings of the Visitors, relative to the original designation of wards, at any time before the buildings are begun, or to the changes of wards at any time after, to the quantum of subsistence or wages allowed to the teacher, and to the rules prescribed to him for the education and government of his pupils, shall be subject to control and correction by the Judge of the Superior Court of the county on the complaint of any individual aggrieved or interested.

And for the establishment of colleges [3] whereat the

[3] Jefferson is here proposing a system of secondary schools, the "colleges" of this bill are the "grammar schools" of the bill of 1779. The terminology is evidence of French influence.

youth of the Commonwealth may, within convenient distances from their homes, receive a higher grade of education,

14. *Be it enacted as follows:* The several counties of this Commonwealth shall be distributed into nine collegiate districts,[4] . . .

15. Within three months after the passing of this act, the President and Directors of the Literary Fund, who shall henceforward be called the Board of Public Instruction, shall appoint one fit person in every county, in each of the districts, who, with those appointed in the other counties of the same district shall compose the Board of Visitors for the College of that district; and shall, within four months after passing this act, cause notice to be given to each individual so appointed, prescribing to them a day, within one month thereafter, and a place within their district, for their first meeting, with supplementary instructions for procuring a meeting subsequently, in the event of failure at the time first appointed.

16. The said Visitors, or so many of them as, being a

[4] The bill goes on to specify the counties to be included in each collegiate district.

majority, shall attend, shall appoint a rector, of their own body, who shall preside at their meetings, and a secretary to record and preserve their proceedings; and shall proceed to consider of the site for a college most convenient for their district, having regard to the extent, population and other circumstances, and within the term of six months from the passing of this act shall report the same to the Board of Public Instruction, with the reasons on which each site is preferred; and if any minority of two or more members prefer any other place, the same shall be reported, with the reasons for and against the same.

17. Within seven months after the passing of this act the said Board of Public Instruction shall determine on such of the sites reported as they shall think most eligible for the college of each district, shall notify the same to the said Visitors, and shall charge them with the office of obtaining from the proprietor, with his consent, the proper grounds for the building, and its appurtenances, either by donation or purchase; or if his consent, on reasonable terms, cannot be obtained, the clerk of the county, wherein the site is, shall, on their request,

issue and direct to the sheriff of the same county a writ of *ad quod damnum,* to ascertain by a jury the value of the grounds selected, and to fix their extent by metes and bounds, so, however, as not to include the dwelling house, or buildings appurtenant, the curtilage, gardens or orchards of the owner; which writ shall be executed according to the ordinary forms prescribed by the laws in such cases; and shall be returned to the same clerk to be recorded: *Provided,* that in no case, either of purchase or valuation by a jury, shall more grounds be located than of the value of $500; which grounds, if by donation or purchase, shall, by the deed of the owner, or if by valuation of a jury, shall, by their inquest, become vested in the said Board of Public Instruction, as trustees for the Commonwealth, and for the uses and purposes of a college of instruction.

18. On each of the sites so located shall be erected one or more substantial buildings—the walls of which shall be of brick or stone, with two school rooms, and four rooms for the accommodation of the professors, and with sixteen dormitories in or adjacent to the same, each sufficient for two pupils, and in which no more than

two shall be permitted to lodge, with a fire place in each, and the whole in a comfortable and decent style, suitable to their purpose.

19. The plan of the said buildings, and their appurtenances, shall be furnished or approved by the said Board of Public Instruction, and that of the dormitories shall be as may conveniently receive additions from time to time. The Visitors shall have all the powers which are necessary and proper for carrying them into execution, and shall proceed in their execution accordingly. Provided, that in no case shall the whole cost of the said buildings and appurtenances of any one college exceed the sum of $7,500.

. . . . . .

21. In the said colleges shall be taught the Greek, Latin, French, Spanish, Italian and German languages, English grammar, geography, ancient and modern, the higher branches of numerical arithmetic, the mensuration of land, the use of the globes, and the ordinary elements of navigation.

22. To each of the said colleges shall be appointed two professors, the one for teaching Greek, Latin, and such other branches of learning, before described, as he

may be qualified to teach, and the other for the remaining branches thereof, who shall each be allowed the use of the apartments provided for him, and a standing salary of $500 yearly, to be drawn from the literary fund, with such tuition fee from each pupil as the Visitors shall establish.

23. The said Visitors shall be charged with the preservation and repair of the buildings, the care of the ground and appurtenances for which, and other necessary purposes, they may employ a steward and competent laborers; they shall have power to appoint and remove the professors, to prescribe their duties, and the course of education to be pursued; they shall establish rules for the government and discipline of the pupils, for their subsistence and board, if boarded in the college, and for their accommodation, and the charges to which they shall be subject for the same, as well as the rent for the dormitories they occupy. They may draw from the literary fund such moneys as are hereby charged on it for their institution. And, in general, they shall direct and do all matters and things which, not being inconsistent with the laws of the land, to them shall seem most expedient for promoting the

purposes of the said institution; which several functions may be exercised by them in the form of by-laws, resolutions, orders, instructions, or otherwise, as they shall deem proper.

24. The rents of the dormitories, the profits of boarding the pupils, donations and other occasional resources shall constitute the fund, and shall be at their disposal for the necessary purposes of the said institution, and not otherwise provided for; and they shall have authority to draw on the said Board of Public Instruction for the purchase or valuation money of the site of their college, for the cost of the buildings and improvements authorized by law, and for the standing salaries of the professors herein allowed—for the administration of all which they may appoint a bursar.

25. They shall have two stated meetings in the year, at their colleges, on the first Mondays of April and October, and occasional meetings at the same place, and at such other times, as they shall appoint; giving due notice thereof to every individual of their board.

26. A majority of them shall constitute a quorum for business, and on the death or resignation of a member, or on his removal by the Board of Public Instruction, or

out of the county from which he was appointed, the said Board shall appoint a successor, resident in the same county.

27. The Visitors of every collegiate district shall be a body politic and corporate, to be called the Visitors of the College, by name, for which they are appointed, with capacity to plead, or be impleaded, in all courts of justice, and in all cases interesting to their college, which may be the subject of legal cognizance and jurisdiction, which pleas shall not abate by the determination of the office of all or any of them, but shall stand revived in the name of their successors; and they shall be capable in law, and in trust for their college, of receiving subscriptions and donations, real and personal, as well from bodies corporate, or persons associated, as from private individuals.

28. Some member, or members, of the Board of Visitors, to be nominated by the said Board, or such other persons as they shall nominate, shall, once in every year, at least, visit the college of their district, enquire into the proceedings and practices thereat, examine the progress of the pupils, and give to those who excel in any branch of learning prescribed for the said college,

such honorary marks and testimonies of approbation as may encourage or excite to industry and emulation.

29. The decisions and proceedings of the said Visitors shall be subject to control and correction by the Board of Public Instruction, either on the complaint of any individual, aggrieved or interested, or on the proper motion of the said board.

30. On every 29th day of February, or, if that be Sunday, then on the next or earliest day thereafter, on which a meeting can be effected, the Board of Public Instruction shall be in session, and shall appoint, in every county of each district, a Visitor, resident therein, either the same before appointed, or another, at their discretion, to serve until the ensuing 29th day of February, duly and timely notifying to them their appointment, and prescribing a day for their first meeting at the college of their district, after which their stated meetings shall be at their college on the first Mondays of April and October, annually; and their occasional meetings at the same place, and at such times as themselves shall appoint, due notice thereof being given to every member of their board.

Utrum horum?

And for establishing in a central and healthy part of the State an University wherein all the branches of useful science may be taught, Be it enacted as follows:

31. Within the limits of the county of there shall be established an University, to be called the University of Virginia; and so soon as may be after the passage of this act the board of public instruction shall appoint eight fit persons to constitute the Board of Visitors for the said University; and shall forthwith give notice to each individual so appointed, prescribing to them a day for their first meeting at the Courthouse of the said county, with supplementary instructions for procuring a meeting subsequently in the event of failure at the time first appointed.

And for establishing in a central and healthy part of the State an University wherein all the branches of useful science may be taught, Be it further enacted as follows:

31. Whensoever the Visitors of the Central College in Albemarle, authorized thereto by the consent in writing of the subscribers of the major part of the amount subscribed to that institution, shall convey or cause to be conveyed to the Board of Public Instruction, for the use of this Commonwealth, all the lands, buildings, property and rights of the said College, in possession, in interest, or in action, (save only so much as may discharge their engagements then existing,) the same shall be thereupon vested in this Commonwealth and shall be appropriated to the institution of an University to be called the University of Virginia, which shall be established on the said lands. The said Board of Public Instruction shall thereupon forthwith appoint eight fit persons who shall compose the Board of Visitors for the government of the said University, notifying thereof the persons so appointed, and prescribing to them a day for their first meeting at Charlottesville, with supplementary in-

32. The said Visitors, or so many of them as, being a majority, shall attend, shall appoint a Rector of their own body, who shall preside at their meetings, and a Secretary to record and preserve their proceedings, and shall proceed to enquire into and select the most eligible site for the University, and to obtain from the proprietor, with his consent, the proper grounds for the buildings and appurtenances, either by donation or purchase, or, if his consent on reasonable terms cannot be obtained, the clerk of the county shall, on their request, issue and direct to the sheriff of the county a writ of *ad quod damnum* to ascertain by a jury the value of the grounds selected, and to fix their extent by metes and bounds, so however, as not to include the dwelling house or buildings appurtenant, the curtilage, gardens or orchards of the owner; which writ shall be executed according to the ordinary forms prescribed by the laws in such cases, and shall be returned to the same clerk to be recorded: *Provided*, That in no case, either of purchase or valuation by a jury, shall more grounds be located than of the value of

structions for procuring a meeting subsequently, in the event of failure at the time first appointed.

32. The said Visitors, or so many of them as, being a majority, shall attend, shall appoint a Rector of their own body to preside at their meetings, and a Secretary to record and preserve their proceedings, and shall proceed to examine into the state of the property conveyed as aforesaid, shall make an inventory of the same, specifying the items whereof it consists, shall notice the buildings and other improvements already made, and those which are in progress, shall take measures for their completion, shall consider what others may be necessary in addition, and of the best plan for effecting the same, with estimates of the probable cost, and shall make report of the whole to the said Board of Public Instruction, which is authorized to approve, negative or modify any of the measures so proposed by the said Visitors.

$2,000; which grounds, if by donation or purchase, shall, by the deed of the owner, or if by valuation of a jury, shall, by their inquest, become vested in the Board of Public Instruction aforesaid, as trustees for the Commonwealth, for the uses and purposes of an University.

33. A plan of the buildings and appurtenances necessary and proper for an University being furnished or approved by the Board of Public Instruction, in which that of the dormitories shall be such as may conveniently admit additions from time to time, the Visitors shall have all the powers which shall be necessary and proper for carrying them into execution, and shall proceed in their execution accordingly.

33. The said measures being approved or modified, the Visitors shall have all the powers relative thereto which shall be necessary or proper for carrying them into execution, and shall proceed in their execution accordingly.

34. In the said University shall be taught history and geography, ancient and modern; natural philosophy, agriculture, chemistry and the theories of medicine; anatomy, zoology, botany, mineralogy and geology; mathematics, pure and mixed; military and naval science; idealogy, ethics, the law of nature and of nations; law, municipal and foreign; the science of civil government and political economy; languages, rhetoric, belles lettres, and the fine arts generally; which branches of

science shall be so distributed and under so many professorships, not exceeding ten, as the Visitors shall think most proper.

35. Each professor shall be allowed the use of the apartments and accommodations provided for him, and such standing salary, not exceeding $1,000 yearly, as the Visitors shall think proper, to be drawn from the literary fund, with such tuition fees from the students as the Visitors shall establish.

36. The said Visitors shall be charged with the erection, preservation and repair of the buildings, the care of the grounds and appurtenances, and of the interests of the University generally; they shall have power to appoint a bursar, employ a steward and all other necessary agents; to appoint and remove professors; to prescribe their duties, and the course of education to be pursued; to establish rules for the government and discipline of the students, for their subsistence, board and accommodation, if boarded by the University, and the charges to which they shall be subject for the same as well as for the dormitories they occupy; to provide and control the duties and proceedings of all officers, servants and others, with respect to the buildings, lands,

appurtenances, and other property and interests of the University; to draw from the literary fund such moneys as are hereby charged on it for this institution; and in general to direct and do all matters and things which, not being inconsistent with the laws of the land, to them shall seem most expedient for promoting the purposes of the said institution; which several functions may be exercised by them in the form of by-laws, rules, resolutions, orders, instructions, or otherwise, as they shall deem proper.

37. They shall have two stated meetings in the year, to wit: on the first Mondays of April and October, and occasional meetings at such other times as they shall appoint, due notice thereof being given to every individual of their Board, which meetings shall be at the said University; a majority of them shall constitute a quorum for business; and on the death or resignation of a member, or on his removal by the Board of Public Instruction, or change of habitation to a greater than his former distance from the University, the said Board shall appoint a successor.

38. The Visitors of the said University shall be a body politic and corporate under the style and title of the

Visitors of the University of Virginia, with capacity to plead or be impleaded in all courts of justice, and in all cases interesting to their College, which may be the subjects of legal cognizance and jurisdiction, which pleas shall not abate by the determination of their office, but shall stand revived in the name of their successors; and they shall be capable in law, and in trust for their college, of receiving subscriptions and donations, real and personal, as well from bodies corporate or persons associated, as from private individuals.

39. Some member or members of the Board of Visitors, to be nominated by the said Board, or such other person as they shall nominate, shall, once in every year at least, visit the said University, enquire into the proceeding and practices thereat, examine the progress of the students, and give to those who excel in any branch of science there taught such honorary marks and testimonies of approbation as may encourage and excite to industry and emulation.

40. All decisions and proceedings of the Visitors shall be subject to control and direction by the Board of Public Instruction, either on the complaint of any in-

dividual aggrieved or interested, or on the proper motion of the said Board.

41. On every 29th day of February, or, if that be Sunday, then on the next or earliest day thereafter on which a meeting can be effected, the said Board of Public Instruction shall be in session, and shall appoint Visitors for the said University, either the same or others, at their discretion, to serve until the 29th day of February next ensuing, duly and timely notifying to them their appointment, and prescribing a day for their first meeting at the University, after which their stated meetings shall be on the first Mondays of April and October annually, and their occasional meetings at the same place, and at such times as themselves shall appoint, due notice thereof being given to every member of their Board.

And to avail the Commonwealth of those talents and virtues which nature has sown as liberally among the poor as rich, and which are lost to their country by the want of means for their cultivation, Be it further enacted as follows:

42. On every 29th day of February, or, if that be Sun-

day, then on the next day, the Visitors of the Ward-schools in every county shall meet at the Court-House of their county, and after the most diligent and impartial observation and enquiry of the boys who have been three years at the Ward-schools, and whose parents are too poor to give them a collegiate education, shall select from among them some one of the most promising and sound understanding, who shall be sent to the first meeting of the Visitors of their collegiate district, with such proofs as the case requires and admits, for the examination and information of that Board; who, from among the candidates so offered from the several counties of their district, shall select two of the most sound and promising understanding, who shall be admitted to their College, and there be maintained and educated five years at the public expense, under such rules and limitations as the Board of Public Instruction shall prescribe; and at the end of the said five years the said Collegiate Visitors shall select that one of the two who shall, on their most diligent and impartial enquiry and best information, be adjudged by them to be of the most sound and promising understanding and character, and most improved by their course of education, who shall

be sent on immediately thereafter to the University, there to be maintained and educated in such branches of the sciences taught there as are most proper to qualify him for the calling to which his parents or guardians may destine him; and to continue at the said University three years at the public expense, under such rules and limitations as the Board of Public Instruction shall prescribe. And the expenses of the persons so to be publicly maintained and educated at the Colleges and University shall be drawn by their respective Visitors from the literary fund.[5]

[5] This bill is printed in part in "The Writings of Thomas Jefferson," H. A. Washington, Editor, Vol. IX, pp. 489–495.

CHAPTER VIII

REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONERS APPOINTED TO FIX THE SITE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA, ETC.

A short account of the appointment and work of this Commission is found in Chap. III. This *Report* is found in "Early History of the University of Virginia as Contained in the Letters of Thomas Jefferson and Joseph C. Cabell," pp. 432–447.

THE Commissioners for the University of Virginia, having met, as by law required, at the tavern, in Rockfish Gap, on the Blue Ridge, on the first day of August, of this present year, 1818; and having formed a board, proceeded on that day to the discharge of the duties assigned to them by the act of the Legislature, entitled "An act, appropriating part of the revenue of the literary fund, and for other purposes;" and having

continued their proceedings by adjournment, from day to day, to Tuesday, the 4th day of August, have agreed to a report on the several matters with which they were charged, which report they now respectfully address and submit to the Legislature of the State.

The first duty enjoined on them, was to enquire and report a site, in some convenient and proper part of the State, for an university, to be called the "University of Virginia." In this enquiry, they supposed that the governing considerations should be the healthiness of the site, the fertility of the neighboring country, and its centrality to the white population of the whole State. For, although the act authorized and required them to receive any voluntary contributions, whether conditional or absolute, which might be offered through them to the President and Directors of the Literary Fund, for the benefit of the University, yet they did not consider this as establishing an auction, or as pledging the location to the highest bidder.

Three places were proposed, to wit: Lexington, in the county of Rockbridge, Staunton, in the county of Augusta, and the Central College, in the county of Albermarle. Each of these was unexceptionable as to

healthiness and fertility. It was the degree of centrality to the white population of the State which alone then constituted the important point of comparison between these places; and the Board, after full enquiry, and impartial and mature consideration, are of opinion, that the central point of the white population of the State is nearer to the Central College than to either Lexington or Staunton, by great and important differences; and all other circumstances of the place in general being favorable to it, as a position for an university, they do report the Central College, in Albermarle, to be a convenient and proper part of the State for the University of Virginia.

2. The Board having thus agreed on a proper site for the University, to be reported to the Legislature, proceed to the second of the duties assigned to them—that of proposing a plan for its buildings—and they are of opinion that it should consist of distinct houses or pavilions, arranged at proper distances on each side of a lawn of a proper breadth and of indefinite extent, in one direction, at least; in each of which should be a lecturing room, with from two to four apartments, for

the accommodation of a professor and his family; that these pavilions should be united by a range of dormitories, sufficient each for the accommodation of two students only, this provision being deemed advantageous to morals, to order, and to uninterrupted study; and that a passage of some kind, under cover from the weather, should give a communication along the whole range. It is supposed that such pavilions, on an average of the larger and smaller, will cost each about $5,000; each dormitory about $350, and hotels of a single room, for a refectory, and two rooms for the tenant, necessary for dieting the students, will cost about $3,500 each. The number of these pavilions will depend on the number of professors, and that of the dormitories and hotels on the number of students to be lodged and dieted. The advantages of this plan are: greater security against fire and infection; tranquillity and comfort to the professors and their families thus insulated; retirement to the students; and the admission of enlargement to any degree to which the institution may extend in future times. It is supposed probable, that a building of somewhat more size in the middle of the grounds may be called for in

time, in which may be rooms for religious worship, under such impartial regulations as the Visitors shall prescribe, for public examinations, for a library, for the schools of music, drawing, and other associated purposes.

3, 4. In proceeding to the third and fourth duties prescribed by the Legislature, of reporting "the branches of learning, which should be taught in the University, and the number and description of the professorships they will require," the Commissioners were first to consider at what point it was understood that university education should commence? Certainly not with the alphabet, for reasons of expediency and impracticability, as well from the obvious sense of the Legislature, who, in the same act, make other provision for the primary instruction of the poor children, expecting, doubtless, that in other cases it would be provided by the parent, or become perhaps, subject of future and further attention of the Legislature. The objects of this primary education determine its character and limits. These objects would be,

To give to every citizen the information he needs for the transaction of his own business;

To enable him to calculate for himself, and to express and preserve his ideas, his contracts and accounts, in writing;

To improve, by reading, his morals and faculties;

To understand his duties to his neighbors and country, and to discharge with competence the functions confided to him by either;

To know his rights; to exercise with order and justice those he retains; to choose with discretion the fiduciary of those he delegates; and to notice their conduct with diligence, with candor, and judgment;

And, in general, to observe with intelligence and faithfulness all the social relations under which he shall be placed.

To instruct the mass of our citizens in these, their rights, interests and duties, as men and citizens, being then the objects of education in the primary schools, whether private or public, in them should be taught reading, writing and numerical arithmetic, the elements of mensuration, (useful in so many callings,) and the outlines of geography and history. And this brings us to the point at which are to commence the higher branches of education, of which the Legislature

require the development; those, for example, which are,

To form the statesmen, legislators and judges, on whom public prosperity and individual happiness are so much to depend;

To expound the principles and structure of government, the laws which regulate the intercourse of nations, those formed municipally for our own government, and a sound spirit of legislation, which, banishing all arbitrary and unnecessary restraint on individual action, shall leave us free to do whatever does not violate the equal rights of another;

To harmonize and promote the interests of agriculture, manufactures and commerce, and by well informed views of political economy to give a free scope to the public industry;

To develop the reasoning faculties of our youth, enlarge their minds, cultivate their morals, and instill into them the precepts of virtue and order;

To enlighten them with mathematical and physical sciences, which advance the arts, and administer to the health, the subsistence, and comforts of human life;

And, generally, to form them to habits of reflection

and correct action, rendering them examples of virtue to others, and of happiness within themselves.

These are the objects of that higher grade of education, the benefits and blessings of which the Legislature now propose to provide for the good and ornament of their country, the gratification and happiness of their fellow-citizens, of the parent especially, and his progeny, on which all his affections are concentrated.

In entering on this field, the Commissioners are aware that they have to encounter much difference of opinion as to the extent which it is expedient that this institution should occupy. Some good men, and even of respectable information, consider the learned sciences as useless acquirements; some think that they do not better the condition of man; and others that education, like private and individual concerns, should be left to private individual effort; not reflecting that an establishment embracing all the sciences which may be useful and even necessary in the various vocations of life, with the buildings and apparatus belonging to each, are far beyond the reach of individual means, and must either derive existence from public patronage, or not exist at all. This would leave us, then, without those

callings which depend on education, or send us to other countries to seek the instruction they require. But the Commissioners are happy in considering the statute under which they are assembled as proof that the Legislature is far from the abandonment of objects so interesting. They are sensible that the advantages of well-directed education, moral, political and economical, are truly above all estimate. Education generates habits of application, of order, and the love of virtue; and controls, by the force of habit, any innate obliquities in our moral organization. We should be far, too, from the discouraging persuasion that man is fixed, by the law of his nature, at a given point; that his improvement is a chimera, and the hope delusive of rendering ourselves wiser, happier or better than our forefathers were. As well might it be urged that the wild and uncultivated tree, hitherto yielding sour and bitter fruit only, can never be made to yield better; yet we know that the grafting art implants a new tree on the savage stock, producing what is most estimable both in kind and degree. Education, in like manner, engrafts a new man on the native stock, and improves what in his nature was vicious and perverse into qualities of virtue and social

worth. And it cannot be but that each generation succeeding to the knowledge acquired by all those who preceded it, adding to it their own acquisitions and discoveries, and handing the mass down for successive and constant accumulation, must advance the knowledge and well-being of mankind, not *infinitely,* as some have said, but *indefinitely,* and to a term which no one can fix and foresee. Indeed, we need look back half a century, to times which many now living remember well, and see the wonderful advances in the sciences and arts which have been made within that period. Some of these have rendered the elements themselves subservient to the purposes of man, have harnessed them to the yoke of his labors, and effected the great blessings of moderating his own, of accomplishing what was beyond his feeble force, and extending the comforts of life to a much enlarged circle, to those who had before known its necessaries only. That these are not the vain dreams of sanguine hope, we have before our eyes real and living examples. What, but education, has advanced us beyond the condition of our indigenous neighbors? And what chains them to their present state of barbarism and wretchedness, but a bigotted veneration for

the supposed superlative wisdom of their fathers, and the preposterous idea that they are to look backward for better things, and not forward, longing, as it should seem, to return to the days of eating acorns and roots, rather than indulge in the degeneracies of civilization? And how much more encouraging to the achievements of science and improvement is this, than the desponding view that the condition of a man cannot be ameliorated, that what has been must ever be, and that to secure ourselves where we are, we must tread with awful reverence in the footsteps of our fathers. This doctrine is the genuine fruit of the alliance between Church and State; the tenants of which, finding themselves but too well in their present condition, oppose all advances which might unmask their usurpations, and monopolies of honors, wealth, and power, and fear every change, as endangering the comforts they now hold. Nor must we omit to mention, among the benefits of education, the incalculable advantage of training up able counsellors to administer the affairs of our country in all its departments, legislative, executive and judiciary, and to bear their proper share in the councils of our national government; nothing more than education advancing

the prosperity, the power, and the happiness of a nation.

Encouraged, therefore, by the sentiments of the Legislature, manifested in this statute, we present the following tabular statement of the branches of learning which we think should be taught in the University, forming them into groups, each of which are within the powers of a single professor:

I. Languages, ancient:
Latin,
Greek,
Hebrew.

II. Languages, modern:
French,
Spanish,
Italian,
German,
Anglo-Saxon.

III. Mathematics, pure:
Algebra,
Fluxions,
Geometry, Elementary,
Transcendental.
Architecture, Military,
Naval.

IV. Physico-Mathematics:
Mechanics,
Statics,
Dynamics,
Pneumatics,
Accoustics,
Optics,
Astronomy,
Geography.

V. Physics, or Natural Philosophy:
Chemistry,
Mineralogy.

VI. Botany,
Zoology.

VII. Anatomy,
Medicine.

VIII. Government,
Political Economy,
Law of Nature and Nations,

History, being interwoven with Politics and Law.	General Grammar,
IX. Law, municiple.	Ethics,
X. Ideology,	Rhetoric,
	Belles Lettres, and the fine arts.

Some of the terms used in this table being subject to a difference of acceptation, it is proper to define the meaning and comprehension intended to be given them here:

Geometry, Elementary, is that of straight lines and of the circle.

Transcendental is that of all other curves; it includes, of course, *Projectiles,* a leading branch of the military art.

Military Architecture includes Fortification, another branch of that art.

Statics respect matter generally, in a state of rest, and include Hydrostatics, or the laws of fluids particularly, at rest or in equilibrio.

Dynamics, used as a general term, include

Dynamics proper, or the laws of *solids* in motion; and

Hydrodynamics, or Hydraulics, those of *fluids* in motion.

Pneumatics teach the theory of air, its weight, motion, condensation, rarefaction, &c.

Accoustics, or Phonics, the theory of sound.
Optics, the laws of light and vision.
Physics, or Physiology, in a general sense, mean the doctrine of the physical objects of our senses.
Chemistry is meant, with its other usual branches, to comprehend the theory of agriculture.
Mineralogy, in addition to its peculiar subjects, is here understood to embrace what is real in geology.
Idealogy is the doctrine of thought.
General Grammar explains the construction of language.

Some articles in this distribution of sciences will need observation. A professor is proposed for ancient languages, the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, particularly; but these languages being the foundation common to all the sciences, it is difficult to foresee what may be the extent of this school. At the same time, no greater obstruction to industrious study could be proposed than the presence, the intrusions and the noisy turbulence of a multitude of small boys; and if they are to be placed here for the rudiments of the languages, they may be so numerous that its character and value as an University will be merged in those of a Grammar school. It is, therefore, greatly to be wished, that preliminary

schools, either on private or public establishment, could be distributed in districts through the State, as preparatory to the entrance of students into the University. The tender age at which this part of education commences, generally about the tenth year, would weigh heavily with parents in sending their sons to a school so distant as the central establishment would be from most of them. Districts of such extent as that every parent should be within a day's journey of his son at school, would be desirable in cases of sickness, and convenient for supplying their ordinary wants, and might be made to lessen sensibly the expense of this part of their education. And where a sparse population would not, within such a compass, furnish subjects sufficient to maintain a school, a competent enlargement of district must, of necessity, there be submitted to. At these district schools or colleges, boys should be rendered able to read the easier authors, Latin and Greek. This would be useful and sufficient for many not intended for an University education. At these, too, might be taught English grammar, the higher branches of numerical arithmetic, the geometry of straight lines and of the circle, the elements of navigation, and geography to a sufficient de-

gree, and thus afford to greater numbers the means of being qualified for the various vocations of life, needing more instruction than merely menial or praedial labor, and the same advantages to youths whose education may have been neglected until too late to lay a foundation in the learned languages. These institutions, intermediate between the primary schools and University, might then be the passage of entrance for youths into the University, where their classical learning might be critically completed, by a study of the authors of highest degree; and it is at this stage only that they should be received at the University. Giving then a portion of their time to a finished knowledge of the Latin and Greek, the rest might be appropriated to the modern languages, or to the commencement of the course of science for which they should be destined. This would generally be about the fifteenth year of their age, when they might go with more safety and contentment to that distance from their parents. Until this preparatory provision shall be made, either the University will be overwhelmed with the grammar school, or a separate establishment, under one or more ushers, for its lower classes, will be advisable, at a mile or two distant from

the general one; where, too, may be exercised the stricter government necessary for young boys, but unsuitable for youths arrived at years of discretion.

The considerations which have governed the specification of languages to be taught by the professor of modern languages were, that the French is the language of general intercourse among nations, and as a depository of human science, is unsurpassed by any other language, living or dead; that the Spanish is highly interesting to us, as the language spoken by so great a portion of the inhabitants of our continents, with whom we shall probably have great intercourse ere long, and is that also in which is written the greater part of the earlier history of America. The Italian abounds with works of very superior order, valuable for their matter, and still more distinguished as models of the finest taste in style and composition. And the German now stands in a line with that of the most learned nations in richness of erudition and advance in the sciences. It is too of common descent with the language of our own country, a branch of the same original Gothic stock, and furnishes valuable illustrations for us. But in this point of view, the Anglo-Saxon is of

peculiar value. We have placed it among the modern languages, because it is in fact that which we speak, in the earliest form in which we have knowledge of it. It has been undergoing, with time, those gradual changes which all languages, ancient and modern, have experienced; and even now needs only to be printed in the modern character and orthography to be intelligible, in a considerable degree, to an English reader. It has this value, too, above the Greek and Latin, that while it gives the radix of the mass of our language, they explain its innovations only. Obvious proofs of this have been presented to the modern reader in the disquisitions of Horn Tooke; and Fortescue Aland has well explained the great instruction which may be derived from it to a full understanding of our ancient common law, on which, as a stock, our whole system of law is engrafted. It will form the first link in the chain of an historical review of our language through all its successive changes to the present day, will constitute the foundation of that critical instruction in it which ought to be found in a seminary of general learning, and thus reward amply the few weeks of attention which would alone be requisite for its attainment; a language already fraught with

all the eminent science of our parent country, the future vehicle of whatever we may ourselves achieve, and destined to occupy so much space on the globe, claims distinguished attention in American education.

Medicine, where fully taught, is usually subdivided into several professorships, but this cannot well be without the accessory of an hospital, where the student can have the benefit of attending clinical lectures, and of assisting at operations of surgery. With this accessory, the seat of our University is not yet prepared, either by its population or the numbers of poor who would leave their own houses, and accept of the charities of an hospital. For the present, therefore, we propose but a single professor for both medicine and anatomy. By him the medical science may be taught, with a history and explanations of all its successive theories from Hippocrates to the present day; and anatomy may be fully treated. Vegetable pharmacy will make a part of the botanical course, and mineral and chemical pharmacy of those of mineralogy and chemistry. This degree of medical information is such as the mass of scientific students would wish to possess, as enabling them in their course through life, to estimate with satisfaction the extent and

limits of the aid to human life and health, which they may understandingly expect from the art; and it constitutes such a foundation for those intended for the profession, that the finishing course of practice at the bed-sides of the sick and at the operations of surgery in a hospital, can neither be long nor expensive. To seek this finishing elsewhere, must therefore be submitted to for awhile.

In conformity with the principles of our Constitution, which places all sects of religion on an equal footing, with the jealousies of the different sects in guarding that equality from encroachment and surprise, and with the sentiments of the Legislature in favor of freedom of religion, manifested on former occasions, we have proposed no professor of divinity; and the rather as the proofs of the being of a God, the creator, preserver, and supreme ruler of the universe, the author of all the relations of morality, and of the laws and obligations these infer, will be within the province of the professor of ethics; to which adding the developments of these moral obligations, of those in which all sects agree, with a knowledge of the languages, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, a basis will be formed common to all sects. Proceeding

thus far without offence to the Constitution, we have thought it proper at this point to leave every sect to provide, as they think fittest, the means of further instruction in their own peculiar tenets.

We are further of opinion, that after declaring by law that certain sciences shall be taught in the University, fixing the number of professors they require, which we think should, at present, be ten, limiting (except as to the professors who shall be the first engaged in each branch,) a maximum for their salaries, (which should be a certain but moderate subsistence, to be made up by liberal tuition fees, as an excitement to assiduity,) it will be best to leave to the discretion of the visitors, the grouping of these sciences together, according to the accidental qualifications of the professors; and the introduction also of other branches of science, when enabled by private donations, or by public provision, and called for by the increase of population, or other change of circumstances; to establish beginnings, in short, to be developed by time, as those who come after us shall find expedient. They will be more advanced than we are in science and in useful arts, and will know best what will suit the circumstances of their day.

We have proposed no formal provision for the gymnastics of the school, although a proper object of attention for every institution of youth. These exercises with ancient nations, constituted the principal part of the education of their youth. Their arms and mode of warfare rendered them severe in the extreme; ours, on the same correct principle, should be adapted to our arms and warfare; and the manual exercise, military manoeuvres, and tactics generally, should be the frequent exercises of the students, in their hours of recreation. It is at that age of aptness, docility, and emulation of the practices of manhood, that such things are soonest learnt and longest remembered. The use of tools too in the manual arts is worthy of encouragement, by facilitating to such as choose it, an admission into the neighboring workshops. To these should be added the arts which embellish life, dancing, music, and drawing; the last more especially, as an important part of military education. These innocent arts furnish amusement and happiness to those who, having time on their hands, might less inoffensively employ it. Needing, at the same time, no regular incorporation with the institution, they may be left to accessory teachers, who will be paid by the

individuals employing them, the University only providing proper apartments for their exercise.

The fifth duty prescribed to the Commissioners, is to propose such general provisions as may be properly enacted by the Legislature, for the better organizing and governing the University.

In the education of youth, provision is to be made for 1, tuition; 2, diet; 3, lodging; 4, government; and 5, honorary excitements. The first of these constitutes the proper functions of the professors; 2, the dieting of the students should be left to private boarding houses of their own choice, and at their own expense; to be regulated by the Visitors from time to time, the house only being provided by the University within its own precincts, and thereby of course subjected to the general regimen, moral or sumptuary, which they shall prescribe. 3. They should be lodged in dormitories, making a part of the general system of buildings. 4. The best mode of government for youth, in large collections, is certainly a desideratum not yet attained with us. It may be well questioned whether *fear* after a certain age, is a motive to which we should have ordinary recourse. The human character is susceptible of other incitements to

correct conduct, more worthy of employ, and of better effect. Pride of character, laudable ambition, and moral dispositions are innate correctives of the indiscretions of that lively age; and when strengthened by habitual appeal and exercise, have a happier effect on future character than the degrading motive of fear. Hardening them to disgrace, to corporal punishments, and servile humiliations cannot be the best process for producing erect character. The affectionate deportment between father and son, offers in truth the best example for that of tutor and pupil; and the experience and practice of other [1] countries, in this respect, may be worthy of enquiry and consideration with us. It will then be for the wisdom and discretion of the Visitors to devise and perfect a proper system of government, which, if it be founded in reason and comity, will be more likely to nourish in the minds of our youth the combined spirit of order and self-respect, so congenial with our political institutions, and so important to be woven into the American character. 5. What qualifications shall be required to entitle to entrance into the University, the

[1] A police exercised by the students themselves, under proper discretion, has been tried with success in some countries, and the rather as forming them for initiation into the duties and practices of civil life.

arrangement of the days and hours of lecturing for the different schools, so as to facilitate to the students the circle of attendance on them; the establishment of periodical and public examinations, the premiums to be given for distinguished merit; whether honorary degrees shall be conferred, and by what appellations, whether the title to these shall depend on the time the candidate has been at the University, or, where nature has given a greater share of understanding, attention, and application; whether he shall not be allowed the advantages resulting from these endowments, with other minor items of government, we are of opinion should be entrusted to the Visitors; and the statute under which we act having provided for the appointment of these, we think they should moreover be charged with:

The erection, preservation, and repair of the buildings, the care of the grounds and appurtenances, and of the interest of the University generally.

That they should have power to appoint a bursar, employ a proctor, and all other necessary agents.

To appoint and remove professors, two-thirds of the whole number of Visitors voting for the removal.

To prescribe their duties and the course of education, in conformity with the law.

To establish rules for the government and discipline of the students, not contrary to the laws of the land.

To regulate the tuition fees, and the rent of the dormitories they occupy.

To prescribe and control the duties and proceedings of all officers, servants, and others, with respect to the buildings, lands, appurtenances, and other property and interests of the University.

To draw from the literary fund such moneys as are by law charged on it for this institution; and in general

To direct and do all matters and things which, not being inconsistent with the laws of the land, to them shall seem most expedient for promoting the purposes of the said institution; which several functions they should be free to exercise in the form of by-laws, rules, resolutions, orders, instructions, or otherwise, as they should deem proper.

That they should have two stated meetings in the year, and occasional meetings at such times as they should appoint, or on a special call with such notice as

themselves shall prescribe by a general rule; which meetings should be at the University, a majority of them constituting a quorum for business; and that on the death or resignation of a member, or on his removal by the President and Directors of the Literary Fund, or the Executive, or such other authority as the Legislature shall think best, such President and Directors, or the Executive, or other authority, shall appoint a successor.

That the said Visitors should appoint one of their own body to be Rector, and with him be a body corporate, under the style and title of the Rector and Visitors of the University of Virginia, with the right, as such, to use a common seal; that they should have capacity to plead and be impleaded in all courts of justice, and in all cases interesting to the University, which may be the subjects of legal cognizance and jurisdiction; which pleas should not abate by the determination of their office but should stand revived in the name of their successors, and they should be capable in law and in trust for the University, of receiving subscriptions and donations, real and personal, as well from bodies cor-

porate, or persons associated, as from private individuals.[2]

[2] In the closing sections of the report the Commissioners recite "conditional offers to the President and Directors of the Literary Fund, for the benefit of the University." Lexington and Washington College, and Central College made offers of lands, buildings and funds conditioned upon the location of the University at Lexington or at Charlottesville.

The report was signed by Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and nineteen other distinguished Virginians.

CHAPTER IX

ON THE EDUCATION OF A YOUNG MAN DESTINED FOR PUBLIC LIFE

This selection is taken from a letter, of August 19, 1785, to Jefferson's nephew, Peter Carr, and is copied from "The Writings of Thomas Jefferson," edited by H. A. Washington, Washington, 1853, Vol. I, pp. 395–399. In a letter of August 10, 1787, Jefferson continues his advice to his favorite nephew. He again urges upon him the importance of mastery of the Spanish language, and constant attempts to develop his character. He then opens for the first time the subject of religion. He writes: "Your reason is now mature enough to examine this object. In the first place, divest yourself of all bias in favor of novelty and singularity of opinion. Indulge them in any other subject rather than that of religion. It is too important, and the consequences of error may be too serious. On the other hand, shake off all the fears and servile prejudices, under which weak minds are servilely crouched.

Fix reason firmly in her seat, and call to her tribunal every fact, every opinion." He goes on to elaborate this theme, urging young Carr to examine and evaluate for himself every important article of religious belief, and especially those of Christianity. The entire letter may be seen in the edition of Jefferson's writings to which reference has just been made, Vol. II, pp. 237–241.

AN honest heart being the first blessing, a knowing head is the second. It is time for you now to begin to be choice in your reading; to begin to pursue a regular course in it; and not to suffer yourself to be turned to the right or left by reading anything out of that course. I have long ago digested a plan for you, suited to the circumstances in which you will be placed. This I will detail to you, from time to time, as you advance. For the present, I advise you to begin a course of ancient history, reading everything in the original and not in translations. First read Goldsmith's history of Greece. This will give you a digested view of that field. Then take up ancient history in the detail, reading the following books, in the following order: Herodotus,

Thucydides, Xenophontis Anabasis, Arrian, Quintus Curtius, Diodorus Siculus, Justin. This shall form the first stage of your historical reading, and is all I need mention to you now. The next will be of Roman history. From that, we will come down to modern history. In Greek and Latin poetry, you have read or will read at school, Virgil, Terence, Horace, Anacreon, Theocritus, Homer, Euripides, Sophocles. Read also Milton's Paradise Lost, Shakspeare, Ossian, Pope's and Swift's works, in order to form your style in your own language. In morality read Epictetus, Xenophontis Memorabilia, Plato's Socratic dialogues, Cicero's philosophies, Antoninus, and Seneca. In order to assure a certain progress in this reading, consider what hours you have free from the school and the exercises of the school. Give about two of them, every day, to exercise; for health must not be sacrificed to learning. A strong body makes the mind strong. As to the species of exercise I advise the gun. While this gives a moderate exercise to the body, it gives boldness, enterprise, and independence to the mind. Games played with the ball, and others of that nature, are too violent for the body, and stamp no character on the mind. Let your gun,

therefore, be the constant companion of your walks. Never think of taking a book with you. The object of walking is to relax the mind. You should therefore not permit yourself even to think while you walk; but divert yourself by the objects surrounding you. Walking is the best possible exercise. Habituate yourself to walk very far. . . . I would advise you to take your exercise in the afternoon: . . . it is the best time to spare from your studies; . . . A little walk of half an hour, in the morning, when you first rise, is advisable also. It shakes off sleep, and produces other good effects in the animal economy. Rise at a fixed and an early hour, and go to bed at a fixed and early hour also. Sitting up late at night is injurious to the health, and not useful to the mind. Having ascribed proper hours to exercise, divide what remain, (I mean of your vacant hours) into three portions. Give the principal to History, and the other two, which should be shorter, to Philosophy and Poetry. Write to me once every month or two, and let me know the progress you make. Tell me in what manner you employ every hour in the day. The plan I have proposed for you is adapted to your present situation only. When that is changed, I shall propose a corresponding change

of plan. I have ordered the following books to be sent to you from London, to the care of Mr. Madison: Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon's Hellenics, Anabasis and Memorabilia, Cicero's works, Baretti's Spanish and English Dictionary, Martin's Philosophical Grammar, and Martin's Philosophia Britannica. I will send you the following from hence: Bezout's Mathematics, De la Lande's Astronomy, Muschenbrock's Physics, Quintius Curtius, Justin, a Spanish Grammar, and some Spanish books. You will observe that Martin, Bezout, De la Lande, and Muschenbrock, are not in the preceding plan. They are not to be opened till you go to the University. You are now, I expect, learning French. You must push this; because the books which will be put in your hands when you advance into Mathematics, Natural philosophy, Natural history, &c., will be mostly French, these sciences being better treated by the French than the English writers. Our future connection with Spain renders that the most necessary of the modern languages, after the French. When you become a public man, you may have occasion for it, and the circumstances of your possessing that language, may give you a preference over other candidates. I have nothing further

to add for the present, but husband well your time, cherish your instructors, strive to make everybody your friend; and be assured that nothing will be so pleasing as your success to, Dear Peter,

Yours affectionately.

CHAPTER X

SUBJECTS OF STUDY IN HIGHER SCHOOLS AND UNIVERSITIES [1]

Texts for the Study of Government [2]

A RESOLUTION was moved and agreed to in the following words:

Whereas, it is the duty of this Board to the government under which it lives, and especially to that of which this University is the immediate creation, to pay especial attention to the principles of government which shall be inculcated therein, and to provide that none shall be inculcated which are incompatible with those

[1] In the letter to Peter Carr, "A Bill for the More General Diffusion of Knowledge," the bill of September 9, 1817, in "The Report of the Commissioners," and in the letter to Nathaniel Burwell a good many expressions of opinion on the subject of the course of study are encountered. Jefferson never tired of the topic. This section contains elaboration of his views on some points of especial interest to him.

[2] From the Minutes of the Board of Visitors of the University of Virginia, March 4, 1825, in the hand of Mr. Jefferson. Quotations from the Minutes are by kind permission of E. I. Carruthers, Secretary to the Rector and Visitors of the University of Virginia.

on which the Constitutions of this State, and of the United States were genuinely based, in the common opinion; and for this purpose it may be necessary to point out specifically where these principles are to be found legitimately developed:

Resolved, that it is the opinion of this Board that as to the general principles of liberty and the rights of man in nature and in society, the doctrines of Locke, in his "Essay concerning the true original extent and end of civil government," and of Sidney in his "Discourses on government," may be considered as those generally approved by our fellow citizens of this, and of the United States, and that on the distinctive principles of the government of our own State, and of that of the United States, the best guides are to be found in, 1. The Declaration of Independence, as the fundamental act of union of these States. 2. The book known by the title of "The Federalist," being an authority to which appeal is habitually made by all, and rarely declined or denied by any as evidence of the general opinion of those who framed, and of those who accepted the Constitution of the United States, on questions as to its genuine meaning. 3. The Resolutions of the General Assembly

of Virginia in 1799 on the subject of the alien and sedition laws, which appeared to accord with the predominant sense of the people of the United States. 4. The valedictory address of President Washington, as conveying political lessons of peculiar value. And that in the branch of the school of law, which is to treat on the subject of civil polity, these shall be used as the text and documents of the school.

Political Principles to be Taught in the University of Virginia [3]

In most public seminaries text-books are prescribed to each of the several schools, as the *norma docendi* in that school; and this is generally done by authority of the trustees. I should not propose this generally in our University, because I believe none of us are so much at the heights of science in the several branches, as to undertake this, and therefore that it will be better left to the Professors until occasion of interference shall be given. But there is one branch in which we are the best

[3] From a letter of February 3, 1825, H. A. Washington, Editor, "The Writings of Thomas Jefferson," Vol. VII, p. 397.

judges, in which heresies may be taught, of so interesting a character to our own State and to the United States, as to make it a duty in us to lay down the principles which are to be taught. It is that of government.

Mastery of Latin Required of all Graduates of the University of Virginia[4]

Examinations of the candidates for honorary distinctions shall be held in the presence of all the Professors and Students, in the week preceding the commencement of the vacation. At these examinations shall be given, to the highly meritorious only, and by vote of a majority of the Professors, Diplomas, or premiums of medals or books, to be provided by the University, to wit: Diplomas to those of the highest qualifications, medals of more or less value, to those of a second grade of acquisition, and books of more or less value to those of a third. These Diplomas shall be of two degrees: the highest of Doctor, the second of Graduate. And the Diploma of each shall express the particular school or

[4] From the Minutes of the Board of Visitors of the University of Virginia, October 4, 1824.

schools in which the candidate shall have been declared eminent, and shall be subscribed by the particular professors approving it. But no Diploma shall be given to any one who has not passed such an examination in the Latin language as shall have proved him able to read the highest classics in that language with ease, thorough understanding and just quantity; and if he be also a proficient in the Greek, let that too be stated in his Diploma. The intention being that the reputation of the University shall not be committed but to those who, to an eminence in some one or more of the sciences taught in it, add a proficiency in those languages which constitute the basis of good education, and are indispensable to fill up the character of a "well-educated man."

Of the Values of the Latin and Greek Languages [5]

. . . The utilities we derive from the remains of the Greek and Latin languages are, first, as models of pure taste in writing. To these we are certainly indebted for

[5] From a letter to John Brazier, author of "The Review of Pickering on Greek Pronunciation," August 24, 1819. H. A. Washington, Editor, "The Writings of Thomas Jefferson," Vol. VII, pp. 131–133.

the rational and chaste style of modern composition which so much distinguishes the nations to whom these languages are familiar. Without these models we should probably have continued the inflated style of our northern ancestors, or the hyperbolical and vague one of the east. Second, Among the values of classical learning, I estimate the luxury of reading the Greek and Roman authors in all the beauties of their originals. And why should not this innocent and elegant luxury take its preëminent stand ahead of all those addressed merely to the senses? I think myself more indebted to my father for this than for all the other luxuries his cares and affections have placed within my reach; and more now than when younger, and more susceptible of delights from other sources. When the decays of age have enfeebled the useful energies of the mind, the classic pages fill up the vacuum of *ennui,* and become sweet composers to that rest of the grave into which we are all sooner or later to descend. Third. A third value is in the stores of real science deposited and transmitted us in these languages, to wit: in history, ethics, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, natural history, &c.

But to whom are these things useful? Certainly not to all men. There are conditions of life to which they must be forever estranged, and there are epochs of life too, after which the endeavor to attain them would be a great misemployment of time. Their acquisition should be the occupation of our early years only, when the memory is susceptible to deep and lasting impressions, and reason and judgment not yet strong enough for abstract speculations. To the moralist they are valuable because they furnish ethical writings highly and justly esteemed: although in my own opinion, the moderns are far advanced beyond them in this line of science, the divine finds in the Greek language a translation of his primary code, of more importance to him than the original because better understood; and, in the same language, the newer code, with the doctrines of the earliest fathers, who lived and wrote before the simple precepts of the Founder of this most benign and pure of all systems of morality became frittered into subtleties and mysteries, and hidden under jargons incomprehensible to the human mind. To these original sources he must now, therefore, return, to recover the virgin purity of his religion. The lawyer finds in the Latin

language the system of civil law most conformable with the principles of justice of any which has ever yet been established among men, and from which much has been incorporated into our own. The physician as good a code of his art as has been given us to this day.[6] . . . The statesman will find in these languages history, politics, mathematics, ethics, eloquence, love of country, to which he must add the sciences of his own day, for which of them should be unknown to him? And all the sciences must recur to the classical languages for the etymon, and sound understanding of their fundamental terms. For the merchant I should not say that the languages are a necessary. Ethics, mathematics, geography, political economy, history, seem to constitute the immediate foundations of his calling. The agriculturist needs ethics, mathematics, chemistry and natural philosophy. The mechanic the same. To them the languages are but ornament and comfort. . . . To sum the whole, therefore, it may truly be said that the classical languages are a solid basis for most, and an ornament to all the sciences.

[6] Jefferson had scant respect for medical science. Compare his letter to Thomas Cooper, of October 7, 1814.

The Study of Botany [7]

Botany I rank with the most valuable sciences, whether we consider its subjects as furnishing the principal subsistence of life to man and beast, delicious varieties for our tables, refreshments from our orchards, the adornments of our flower-borders, shade and perfume of our groves, materials for our buildings, medicaments for our bodies. To the gentlemen it is certainly more interesting than mineralogy (which I by no means, however, undervalue), and is more at hand for his amusement; and to a country family it constitutes a great portion of their social entertainment. No country gentleman should be without what amuses every step he takes into his fields.

Of the Study of Anglo-Saxon [8]

I was led to set a due value on the study of the Northern languages, and especially of our Anglo-Saxon, while

[7] From a letter of October 7, 1814, to Dr. Thomas Cooper, H. A. Washington, Editor, "The Writings of Thomas Jefferson," Vol. VI, p. 390.

[8] From "An Essay towards Facilitating Instruction in the Anglo-Saxon and Modern Dialects of the English Language, For the Use of the University of Virginia," printed by order of the Board of Trustees of the University of Virginia, 1851.

I was a student of the law, by being obliged to recur to that source for explanation of a multitude of law-terms. A preface to Fortescue on Monarchies, written by Fortescue Aland, and afterwards premised to his volume of Reports, developes the advantages to be derived to the English student generally, and particularly the student of law, from an acquaintance with the Anglo-Saxon; and mentions the books to which the learned may have recourse for acquiring the language. I accordingly devoted some time to its study, but my busy life has not permitted me to indulge in a pursuit to which I felt great attraction. (From a letter to Herbert Croft, which serves as an introduction for Jefferson's "Essay on the Anglo-Saxon Language.")

The importance of the Anglo-Saxon dialect toward a perfect understanding of the English language seems not to have been duly estimated by those charged with the education of youth; and yet it is unquestionably the basis of our present tongue. . . . It was the language of all England, properly so called, from the Saxon possession of that country in the sixth century to the time of Henry III in the thirteenth, and was spoken pure and

unmixed with any other. . . . That it was sufficiently copious for the purposes of society in the existing condition of arts and manners, reason alone would satisfy us from the necessity of the case. Its copiousness, too, was much favored by the latitude it allowed of combining primitive words so as to produce any modification of idea desired. In this characteristic it was equal to the Greek, but it is more specially proved by the actual fact of the books they have left us in the various branches of history, geography, religion, law, and poetry. And although since the Norman conquest it has received vast additions and embellishment from the Latin, Greek, French, and Italian languages, yet these are but engraftments on its idiomatic stem; its original structure and syntax remain the same, and can be but imperfectly understood by the mere Latin scholar. Hence the necessity of making the Anglo-Saxon a regular branch of academic education. (From the first section of Jefferson's "Essay on the Anglo-Saxon Language." First published 1851, by the University of Virginia.)

CHAPTER XI

JEFFERSON ON THE EDUCATION OF WOMEN[1]

A PLAN of female education has never been a subject of systematic contemplation with me. It has occupied my attention so far only as the education of my own daughters occasionally required. Considering that they would be placed in a country situation, where little aid could be obtained from abroad, I thought it essential to give them a solid education, which might enable them, when become mothers, to educate their own daughters, and even to direct the course for sons, should their fathers be lost, or incapable, or inattentive. My surviving daughter[2] accordingly, the mother of many daughters as well as sons, has made their education the object of her life, and being a better judge of the practical part

[1] This selection is taken from a letter to Nathaniel Burwell, written March 14, 1818, "The Writings of Thomas Jefferson," H. A. Washington, Editor, Washington, 1853, Vol. VII, pp. 101–103.

[2] Mrs. Martha Jefferson Randolph.

than myself, it is with her aid and that of one of her *elevès,* that I shall subjoin a catalogue of the books for such a course of reading as we have practiced.

A great obstacle to good education is the inordinate passion prevalent for novels, and the time lost in that reading which should be instructively employed. When this poison infects the mind, it destroys its tone and revolts it against wholesome reading. Reason and fact, plain and unadorned, are rejected. Nothing can engage attention unless dressed in all the figments of fancy, and nothing so bedecked comes amiss. The result is a bloated imagination, sickly judgment, and disgust towards all the real businesses of life. This mass of trash, however, is not without some distinction; some few modelling their narratives, although fictitious, on the incidents of real life, have been able to make them interesting and useful vehicles of sound morality. Such, I think, are Marmontel's new moral tales, but not his old ones, which are really immoral. Such are the writings of Miss Edgeworth, and some of those of Madame Genlis. For a like reason, too, much poetry should not be indulged. Some is useful for forming style and taste. Pope, Dryden, Thompson, Shakspeare, and of the

French, Molière, Racine, the Corneilles, may be read with pleasure and improvement.

The French language, become that of the general intercourse of nations, and from their extraordinary advances, now the depository of all science, is an indispensable part of education for both sexes. In the subjoined catalogue, therefore, I have placed the books of both languages indifferently, according as the one or the other offers what is best.

The ornaments too, and the amusements of life, are entitled to their portion of attention. These, for a female, are dancing, drawing, and music. The first is a healthy exercise, elegant and very attractive for young people. Every affectionate parent would be pleased to see his daughter qualified to participate with her companions, and without awkwardness at least, in the circles of festivity, of which she occasionally becomes a part. . . . Drawing is thought less of in this country than in Europe. It is an innocent and engaging amusement, often useful, and a qualification not to be neglected in one who is to become a mother and an instructor. Music is invaluable where a person has an ear. Where they have not, it should not be attempted. It furnishes a de-

lightful recreation for the hours of respite from the cares of the day, and lasts us through life. The taste of this country, too, calls for this accomplishment more strongly than for either of the others.

I need say nothing of household economy, in which the mothers of our country are generally skilled, and generally careful to instruct their daughters. We all know its value, and that diligence and dexterity in all its processes are inestimable treasures. The order and economy of a house are as honorable to the mistress as those of a farm to the master, and if either be neglected, ruin follows, and children destitute of the means of living.

INDEX

A

Adams, John, 4, 11
Albemarle Academy, 30
Albemarle County, 3
American Philosophical Society, 29
Anglo-Saxon, 174

B

Botany, study of, 174

C

Cabell, Joseph C., 31 *ff.*, 41
Carr, Peter, 17, 31, 93 *ff.*, 160 *ff.*
Central College, 13, 31, 93
Classics, Jefferson's fondness for, 6
Condorcet, Marquis de, 74 *f.*
Cooper, Thomas, 42, 46

D

Democracy, 11, 66
Diderot, Denis, 64
Du Pont de Nemours, 30, 65

E

Education, bill of 1779, 9, 22, 67 *ff.*, 80 *ff.*
bill of 1817, 35, 67 *ff.*, 107 *ff.*
in Europe, 18
of artisans, 102
of girls and women, 12 *ff.*, 177 *ff.*
for professions, 100 *ff.*, 150 *ff.*
for public life, 160 *ff.*

F

Fauquier, Governor of Virginia, 7
Franklin, Benjamin, 54
Fry, Joshua, 5

G

Gilmer, Francis Walker, 47
Government, study of, 166
Greek, study of, 6, 46, 85, 170

H

Henry, Patrick, 7, 10
History, study of, 84, 86

I

Indians, 4

J

Jefferson, Peter, 3, 5
Jefferson, Thomas, architect of the University of Virginia, 38
birth, 3
childhood, 5 *ff.*
children, kindness to, 12-17
daughters, 12 *ff.*, 177
education, 5 *ff.*
founder of the University of Virginia, 41, 42, 48
friends, 6, 7, 54
library, 55
marriage, 8
political and social theories, 58 *ff.*, 62, 72, 140
public services, 8 *ff.*, 79
reading, 8, 55 *ff.*, 171
scholarship, 7
source of ideas, 7, 50 *ff.*

L

Latin, 6, 46, 85, 170 *ff.*
Liberalism, British, 50 ff., 57
French, 50 *ff.*, 58
Literary fund, 32
Local self-government, 51 *f.*
Locke, John, 50 *f.*

M

Madison, James, advised by Jefferson, 17
and the University of Virginia, 36, 41
Mercer, C. F., 33
Military training in schools, 153
Minor, John B., 43

N

New England town, 52
Novels, 7, 178

P

Page, John, 6
Pestalozzi, J. H., 53
Physical exercise, 153, 163
Priestley, Joseph, 30, 47
Public instruction, control of, 34, 108
free, 60, 62
grounds of, 22, 23, 60, 80
Jefferson's faith in, 22, 23, 60, 71, 87
purpose of, 70, 137
religion and, 151
should reach all persons, 60 *ff.*, 72, 84
support of, 62 *ff.*

R

Religion, study of, 160 *f.*
Religious freedom, bill for, 21 *ff.*, 88 *ff.*
Rockfish Commission, 36 *ff.*, 132

S

Schools, buildings in wards, 34, 67, 110
course of study in, 83, 103
support and control of, 34, 50 *f.*, 66, 108
Science, study of, 94, 103, 125, 138
Secondary schools, buildings for, 69, 117 *f.*
course of study in, 82 *f.*
establishment of, 69, 115 *ff.*
government of, 115, 120 *f.*
poor educated in, at public expense, 83, 86, 129 *f.*
support of, 120
Small, William, 7

T

Tichnor, George, 39, 47, 54
Tutwiler, Henry, quoted, 18 *ff.*

U

University, course of study in, 125
functions of, 63, 73, 97, 138 *f.*, 141
government of, 62, 69, 98 *ff.*
poor educated in, at public expense, 130
public support of, 139 *f.*
University of Virginia, architecture, 39
bill for passed, 37
Cabell, J. C., and, 31 *ff.*
campaign for launched, 31
commission to fix site of, 36 *f.*, 132 *ff.*
cost of initial plant, 38 *f.*
course of study in, 143 *f.*
freedom of teaching in, 65
government of, 39 *f.*, 45, 69
honors and distinctions in, 169
plan of, 132 *ff.*
professors, 47, 152
rector, 158
sources of plan for, 30, 74
visitors, 126 *ff.*, 156 *ff.*

W

Washington, George, 29
William and Mary, College of, 4, 6, 9, 22, 24 *ff.*, 57, 83, 94
Wythe, George, 7, 9, 21 *ff.*, 79

Date Due

~~O 15 '48~~

~~O 23~~ '47

~~JUN 16 1975~~

~~MAR 2 4 '8?~~

JUN 30 2018

LA379 .A77
Thomas Jefferson and education in a
Princeton Theological Seminary-Speer Library
1 1012 00141 5035